UNESCO The Courier

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MODERN MANUSCRIPTS
a fragile heritage

Catalonia: a thousand years of art and culture

May 1989

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editorial

If the architects of the Pyramids of Giza had bequeathed to us the sketches, rough drafts and plans which they made as their ideas were gradually transformed into stone, they would perhaps have provided us with keys for understanding the innermost workings of Egyptian society five thousand years ago.

But these precious records have disappeared, like the early drafts of many writers and composers, and the preliminary sketches of many painters and sculptors, effacing all trace of the doubts, hesitations, and tensions which can help us to feel the pulse of life at a given time and place.

Even when such traces have survived, they have often been inaccessible, neglected, or misinterpreted. Today, however, they are increasingly prized as precious evidence by scholars who are following in the creative footsteps of modern writers and retracing the development of works of literature from the author's initial idea to the completion of the published text and its reception by critics. This return to the original sources coupled with a determination to preserve the fragile heritage of modern manuscripts has given rise to a new branch of study called manuscriptology.

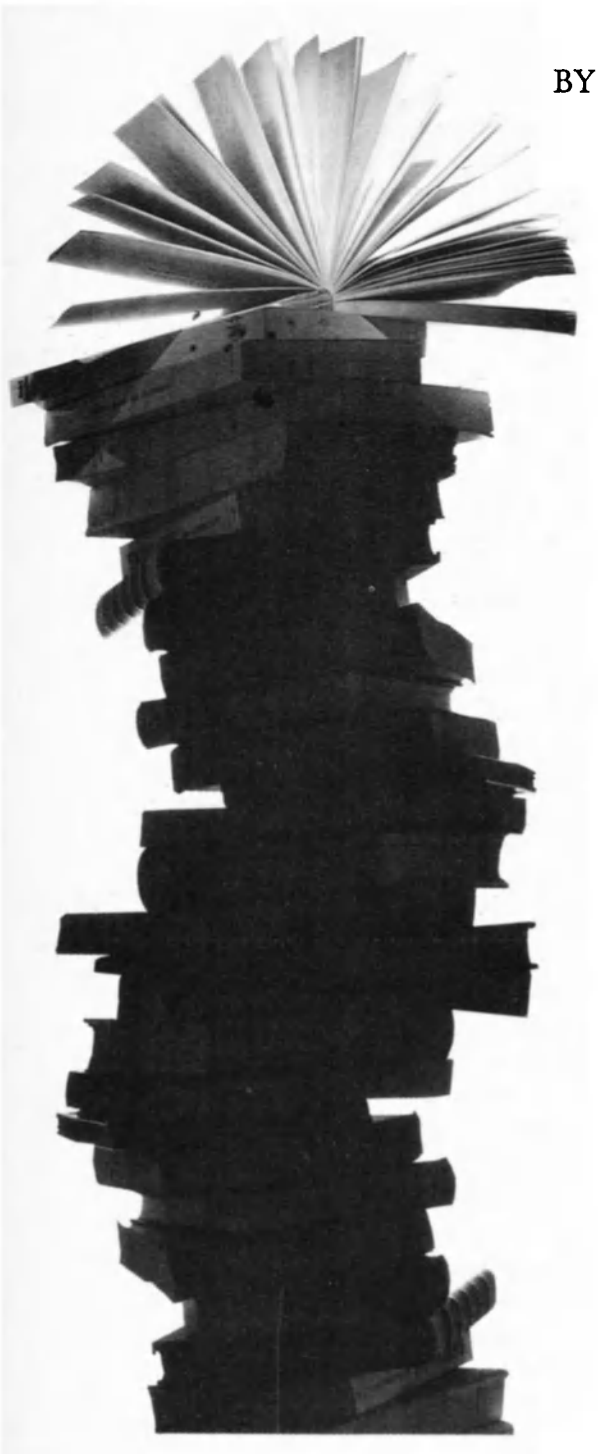
The purpose of manuscriptology, which might be described as textual archaeology, is to establish fully authentic texts of works of literature and to respect the intentions of their authors and the cultural memory of the group to which they belong. The publication of rigorously documented critical editions is the culmination of this process. One recent initiative in this field is an international co-publication project, described in this issue by Amos Segala, which has led to the creation of the "Archives Collection", a series of critical editions of literary works by 20th-century Latin American, Caribbean and eventually African writers.

It is sometimes said that such research is an encroachment on authors' privacy and that the act of creation should be inviolable. However, this issue of the Unesco Courier *is not so much a contribution to the lively debate that has arisen around this question as an attempt to show how modern scholarship and technology are using original manuscripts to throw light on the complex gestation of works of modern literature.*

Cover: *La muse et le poète* (1909), by the French painter Henri "Le Douanier" Rousseau (1844-1910), depicts the poet Guillaume Apollinaire with his "muse", Marie Laurencin.

◄ Part of a human column or *castell* (castle), folk tradition of Mediterranean origin which persists at festivals and ceremonial occasions in Catalonia today.

THE WRITTEN WORD...



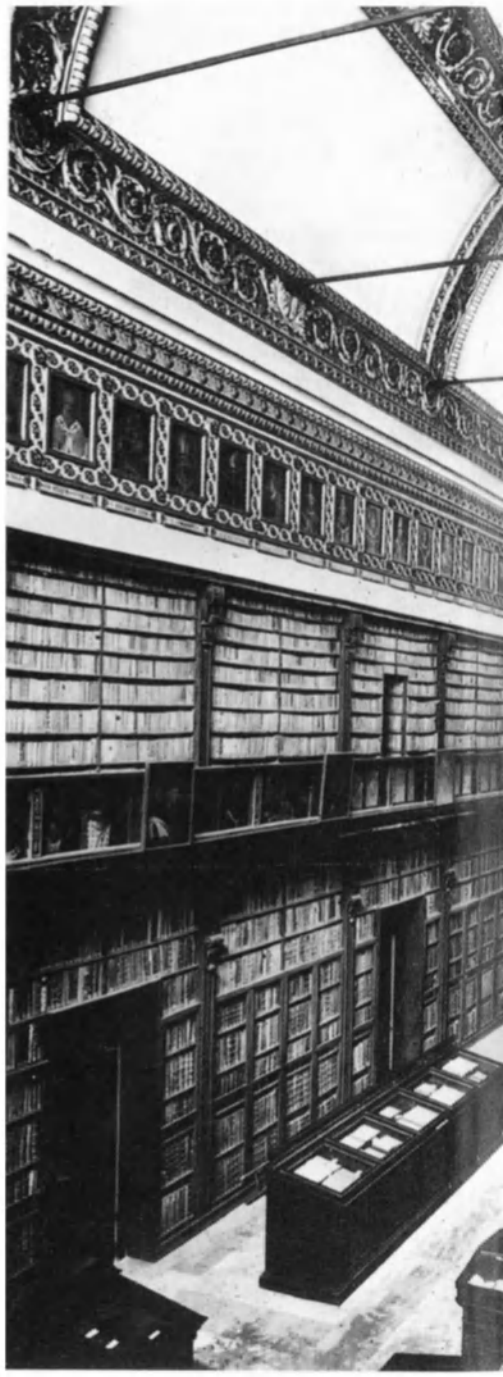
BY LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE fire which destroyed the Library of Alexandria is often cited as one of the natural catastrophes which have afflicted humanity. Many other fires have impoverished for all time the memory of mankind. They are mentioned less often, but we who have suffered their effects at first hand know that these irreparable losses have been instrumental in permanently distorting the contribution of our peoples to universal civilization.

Today our identity and our heritage are faced with the threat of a form of destruction which may be less spectacular but is quite as pernicious and is taking place more insidiously. So insidiously, in fact, that the international cultural community does not yet seem fully aware of it and ready to take action. This form of destruction, which is jeopardizing the safeguard of the written heritage of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, today not only concerns the developing countries; it has become a serious and urgent global problem. The fragility of the material on which manuscripts are written, the inadequacy of the resources allocated to national libraries, legal loopholes and the lack of facilities for training specialists, are all misfortunes which are shared, albeit unequally, by all countries and institutions.

It is to the credit of a non-governmental organization entitled "Association Archives de la Littérature Latino-Américaine, des Caraïbes et Africaine du XXe Siècle" (ALLCA, the Latin American, Caribbean and African 20th-century Literary Archives Association), of which I was president for ten years, that it has tried to make Unesco member states aware of the need for concerted action in this field, on a par with the measures they have already taken to save other aspects of the cultural heritage of humanity such as monuments, moving images and oral traditions. Initially such measures should be taken by individual countries, but they cannot be limited to the national level.

To preserve the testimony of creative thinkers and to render their manuscripts accessible to international research is an act of profound civic importance whereby we affirm our identity and maintain the life and continuity of our cultural heritage. The cultural heritage is not a dusty monument, a souvenir of the past restricted to a scholarly élite, but the focus of a form of "ancestor-worship" which vitalizes and enriches later generations. ■



LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR, Senegalese statesman and writer, was president of the Republic of Senegal from 1960 to 1981. The author of many poems, essays and other literary works, he has been a member of the Académie Française since 1983. As former president of the "Association Archives de la Littérature Latino-Américaine, des Caraïbes et Africaine du XXe Siècle" (ALLCA), he has a special interest in the safeguard and study of contemporary manuscripts.

...A FRAGILE HERITAGE

BY JUAN CARLOS LANGLOIS

Above, the old wing of the Ambrosian Library in Milan (Italy). It was destroyed by bombing in 1943, together with 50,000 books.

UNPARALLELED "producers" and "consumers" of manuscripts, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed an explosion in writing and literary creation.

The mass of notebooks, jottings, sketches and musical scores that their creators have bequeathed to us are a heritage of extraordinary diversity. They testify to an age of intense intellectual activity and creative expression which shaped the modern outlook and will leave a mark on the people of the twenty-first century and beyond.

Systematic study of original manuscripts has enriched our understanding of contemporary literature. It enables specialists to trace the creative process by making a kind of X-ray of an author's activity.

Unfortunately there is a risk that most of these documents may have less chance of survival than older manuscripts. They are endangered on many counts. To take one example, since the middle of the last century wood pulp has been the main material used in the manufacture of paper. The end product yellows, becomes brittle and deteriorates, and the life of contemporary manuscripts is today reckoned at between thirty and fifty years. The use of carbon paper and photosensitive material makes preservation even more difficult.

Some inks contain acid products which attack paper; others are too soluble and are diluted by humidity. New types of pens and pencils are inimical to certain preservation techniques.

The effects of air pollution in the big cities where museums, libraries and archives are concentrated, compound the traditional threats caused by inappropriate lighting, damp and adverse temperature conditions. With the growth of literary and historical research, manuscripts are more widely consulted. This poses an additional preservation problem.

Several international meetings have been held to examine this problem, notably a symposium on the safeguard of the written heritage of the twentieth century organized at Unesco's request by a non-governmental organization, ALLCA, which was held in Paris in September 1987 and attended by specialists from twenty-one countries. These meetings have concluded that this priceless heritage is threatened all over the world and have recommended that urgent measures be taken.

It has emerged from these meetings that the systematic drawing up of inventories is one preliminary step to action at national or international level. Such inventories would make it possible to identify and locate manuscripts whose safeguard should be given high priority. An assessment should be made of their state of preservation and of the measures most needed to protect them. At the same time, the specialized facilities available should be listed.

Such initiatives should bring home to the international community that its active co-operation in this field is needed before the end of the century. Various forms of action could be envisaged, such as the launching of safeguard campaigns, the exchange of information, the strengthening of infrastructures at national and international level, the standardization of cataloguing methods, the use of micro-reproduction techniques and the establishment of an international system of exchange of reproductions thus produced.

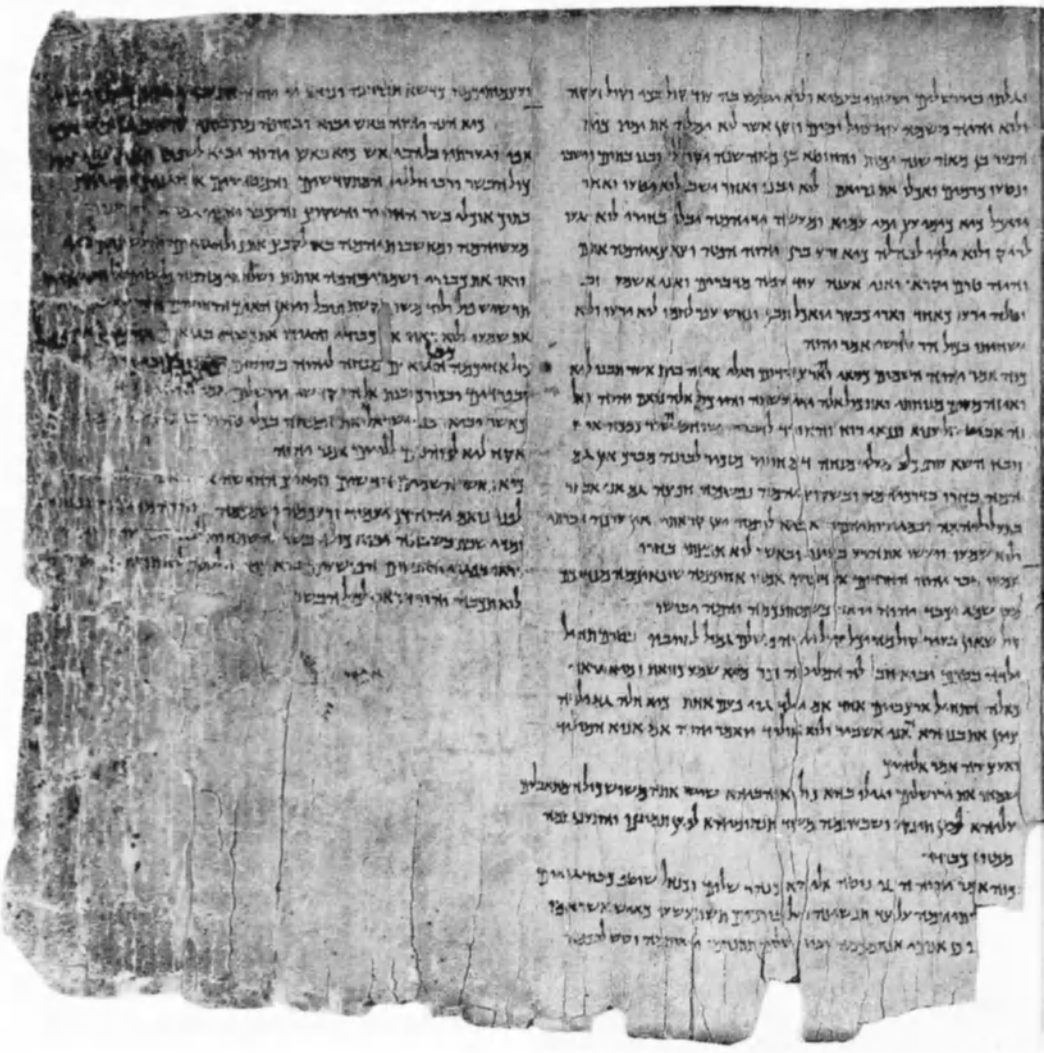
No specific international resolution has so far been adopted for the preservation of contemporary manuscripts, and experts have concluded that suitable instruments for their protection must be drawn up as soon as possible.

Thus the preservation of contemporary manuscripts can become an important field of international cultural co-operation. It would be paradoxical if our generation cannot protect a precious heritage which is common to all cultures and is the basis of the historical memory. ■

JUAN CARLOS LANGLOIS, Argentine artist, was for several years director of Unesco's International Fund for the Promotion of Culture. He is currently serving on the editorial committee of the Archives Collection.

LIBRARIES TO

MANUSCRIPTS are unique and fragile things, which are still far from being protected as part of the national heritage, despite the fact that they are the focus of widespread interest. Although their importance may be acknowledged, the resources allocated to safeguard them are in many cases slender. And yet collections of manuscripts are surely just as much a part of any national heritage as the monuments which states pay large sums of money to preserve, as the works of art amassed by museums, and the areas of outstanding natural beauty which are protected by their status as national parks.



This late 2nd-century manuscript of the Book of Isaiah (detail above) is one of the famous Dead Sea Scrolls. With several other remarkable biblical manuscripts, it was

Seeing the creative impulse at work

The literary, scientific, social or political history of a people can only be written objectively if it is based on the original sources, and those sources are manuscripts or archival documents. Indeed, one meaning of the word "source" is precisely that of "original document". Manuscripts are the lifeblood of history. In them it is possible to trace the development of writers and their work, the lives of statesmen, the manifold activities of peoples. Their value is impossible to calculate, and even if it is perceived as relatively slight in the world context, within each culture and each country it is absolute.

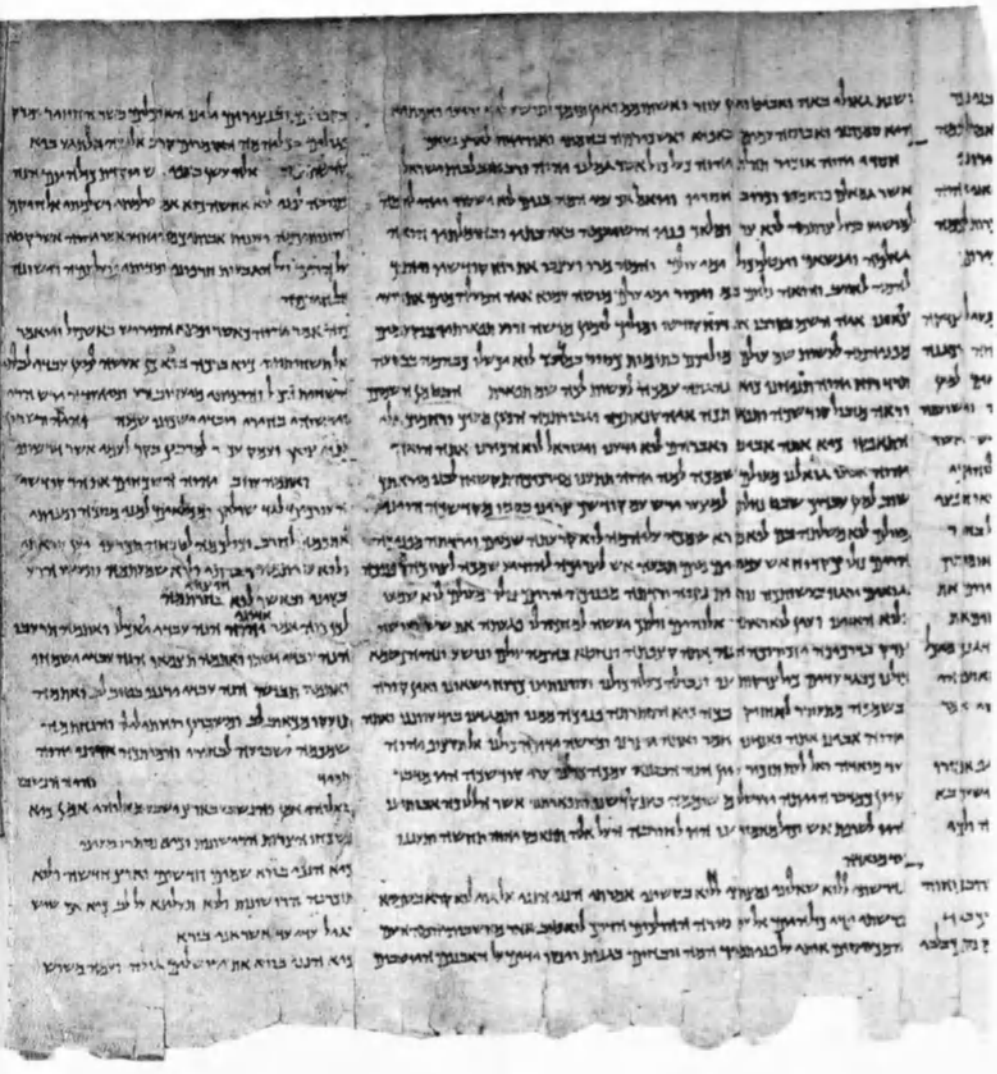
National libraries have long understood the importance of this heritage, especially since manuscripts constitute natural additions to their holdings and form part of their mission to acquire, preserve and provide access to printed works. Although not all national libraries possess a manuscripts department as such, most wish to acquire private archives and to safeguard them as far as their means permit.

Such collections enable those engaged in literary research to consult in one place the documentation on a writer, ranging from drafts and manuscripts to printed editions of his or her work, as well as reviews in newspapers and magazines, radio and television interviews, records, letters, notes of all kinds—in order to follow the evolution of a work or its creator, and to see the creative impulse at work. These primary sources are particularly indispensable because only they are entirely reliable, since secondary sources are too often marred by errors which are then repeated and multiplied from one edition to the next. The French political philosopher Montesquieu wrote in his *Lettres persanes (Persian Letters,* 1722) : "I have a little room full of very precious and very dear manuscripts; although I ruin my eyesight reading them, I much prefer to use these rather than printed works, which are less reliable...". Finally, the existence of complete collections of manuscripts makes possible the preparation of critical editions and the discovery of unpublished material.

Below, manuscript conservation room at the National Library of Quebec

THE RESCUE

BY GEORGES CARTIER



discovered near the Dead Sea in 1947 at Qumran, on the site of a monastery destroyed by the Romans at the dawn of the Christian era.

The role of national libraries

The importance of public archives has long been widely taken for granted. If we accept that private archives are equally deserving of preservation, then a fundamental question arises: who should be responsible for preserving them? So far, few countries have come up with a very satisfactory solution to this problem, as indicated by the number of manuscript collections that are still dispersed. Regrettably, conflicts even arise between national archives and national libraries, university libraries and public libraries, and the private libraries of foundations and associations.

Faced with such confusion, a second question springs to mind: what role can and should be played by national libraries? From the legislation which created them and from the nature of their mission, it is clear that these institutions enjoy a stability and permanence that, theoretically, guarantee the sound management of the heritage of printed works entrusted to them. However, national libraries, like other institutions, are at the mercy of the fluctuations of the economy. But conservation remains their primary purpose and is generally enshrined in the legal provisions of their mandate. This is why budget cuts or staff reductions have less impact on conservation policies than on other library activities.

The task of conservation necessarily leads national libraries to hire highly qualified staff and acquire highly specialized equipment to ensure that their collections will withstand the ravages of time. Their activities include rigorous control of atmospheric conditions, the deacidification of books and documents and of their containers, the reproduction in facsimile or on microfilm or microfiche of those which are at most risk of deteriorating, and the elimination of external threats.

Below, machines for consulting microfilm in the reading room of Brazil's National Library in Rio de Janeiro

As well as taking these costly and essential measures, national libraries must acquire manuscripts to complement their collections of printed works. It is small wonder, therefore, that they have always taken a keen interest in the development of manuscript collections, even setting up special departments for the purpose. This trend was, and still is, part of the logical evolution of their responsibilities, a path from which they cannot stray without detrimental consequences both at the national level and worldwide.

This does not necessarily mean centralization at all costs. Modern technology provides long distance and virtually instantaneous access to the reproduction of a document and to information relating to it. Data banks that can be consulted at any time have become part of daily life, as has the transmission of images or texts. This new technology should allow national libraries to accept an even greater measure of responsibility for manuscripts, since their primary aim is to encourage consultation and even coordination among depositories of private archives. They should act as advisers to other libraries and provide technical and financial support where necessary, so that the national collection of manuscripts, even if dispersed around a country, may be preserved in the best possible conditions, and be well catalogued and universally accessible.

Through their direct or indirect connections with the government, to which they are largely accountable, national libraries should also try to make the authorities aware of the value of the written heritage, and induce them to adopt appropriate legislation and regulations. Much still remains to be done in this direction, if only in the form of tax concessions granted by several countries to donors, legatees or even sellers of manuscripts.

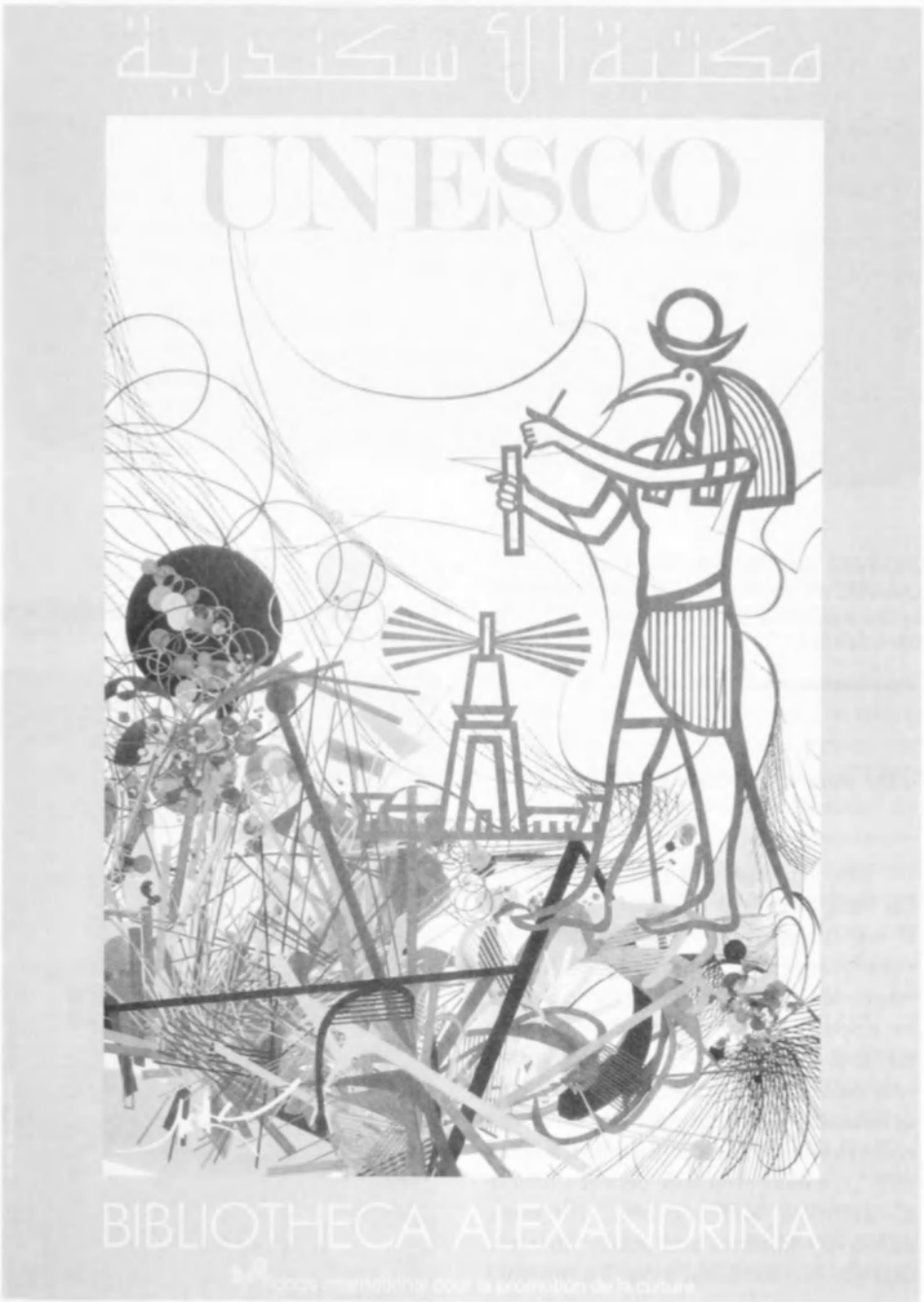
A universal heritage

Bodies such as the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) cannot, for their part, abdicate responsibility for national collections of manuscripts, which are all too often threatened. Like areas of outstanding natural beauty, these collections represent riches that all humanity has a duty to preserve; together, they constitute a world heritage on whose behalf Unesco and its member states should adopt the measures that are urgently needed.

Manuscripts should be recognized forthwith as part of our universal heritage, and countries should sign a declaration undertaking to provide the legislative, financial, human and technical support necessary for their preservation. Each national library should establish its priorities and defend them in its relations with governments and international organizations. ■

GEORGES CARTIER, of Canada, is director-general of the National Library of Quebec and a former director of arts and letters in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. He is the author of a number of essays and a novel entitled *Notre-Dame du colportage* (1987).

Poster created for Unesco's International Fund for the Promotion of Culture as part of the campaign to revive the ancient Library of Alexandria



MICROWAVES THAT SAVE MANUSCRIPTS

BY DENIS SERGENT

448 IMITATION
Parlez-nous vous-même, et nous vous
rons; mais que le Seigneur ne nous parl
peur que nous ne mourions. (Exod. 2
'e n'est pas là, Seigneur, ce n'est p
re; mais plutôt, je vous en conjure
le désir, comme le prophète Samu
eigneur, parce que votre serviteu
1, 3, 9, 40

Paper made from some kinds of wood pulp is at risk from acidification, which causes it to turn yellow, become brittle and eventually disintegrate.

DEACIDIFICATION of manuscripts, books and archival documents is necessary today for two main reasons: the inferior quality of certain types of modern cellulose-based papers (dating from the second half of the nineteenth century); and atmospheric pollution. Paper was formerly manufactured from textile fibres (linen, hemp or cotton) obtained from rags. Since 1850, cellulose fibres from broadleaf and coniferous trees have been used. The wood pulp is produced either by chemical or mechanical methods. Chemical pulp is of good quality, but paper made from mechanical pulp acidifies, especially when treated with sizing agents such as alum. This type of paper, used for newspapers or paperbacks, turns yellow, hardens, becomes brittle and finally disintegrates, a process that is aggravated by atmospheric pollution.

A method of deacidifying paper, discovered by an American and tested in Canada, has been adapted and improved at the French research centre for the preservation of illustrated documents in Paris, resulting in the design of the first assembly-line deacidifying plant in Europe. In 1988 a prototype was installed in the French Bibliothèque Nationale's preservation centre at Sablé-sur-Sarthe.

The main advantages of this apparatus are that whole books can be treated and it is no longer necessary to take a book apart and soak the pages one by one in the treatment solution. Several books or documents can be treated at a time (as many as 250 a day).

The bound books are vacuum dried and heated, and the acid is then eliminated by soaking them in a basic alcohol solution. Subjected to a pressure of 4 bars, this solution penetrates all the pages.

In any attempt to preserve paper involving deacidification in an aqueous medium or strengthening by thermal sizing, or to restore flood-damaged paper, problems arise when it comes to the drying process. The paper is either dried in the open air on racks, or by means of traditional heating devices which are not really suitable (hot air blowers, heated plates or rollers, or infrared radiation). But these methods toughen the cellulose fibres and thus partially cancel out the effect of the previous treatment.

Traditional heating devices work by conduction, convection or radiation. Water is evaporated by purely thermal effects which act indiscriminately on the water and on the paper. For rapid drying (a few minutes), the wet paper has to be heated quite fiercely, and the thermal energy may alter the mechanical properties of the paper or even burn it.

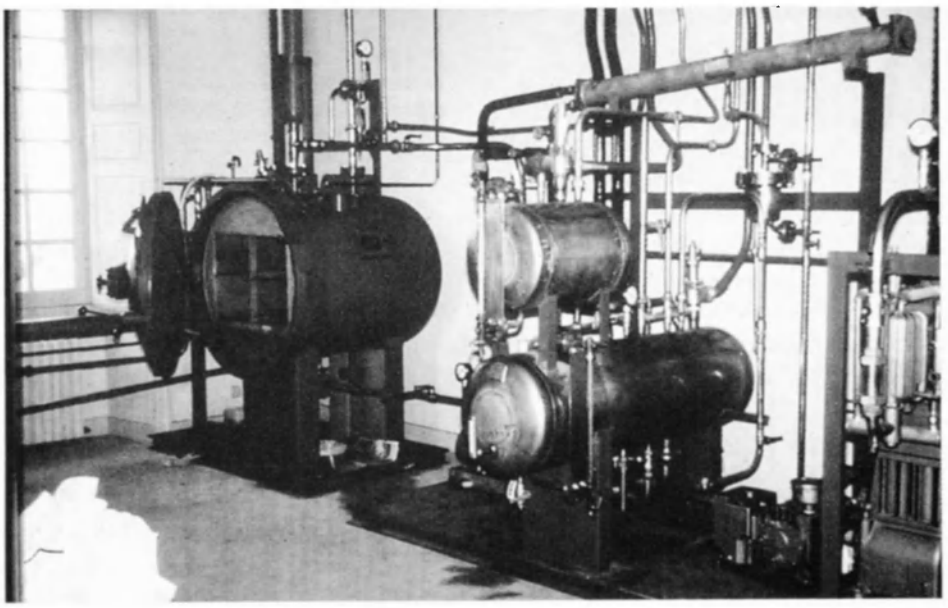
The electrical energy of microwaves, on the other hand, acts selectively on the molecules of "free" water that have not seeped into the paper. It is thus possible to eliminate the water without unduly raising the average temperature of the paper and without extracting its constitutional water (sometimes known as residual moisture). There is then no danger of destroying a document through drier malfunction or operator error.

By using microwaves it is possible to dry both old and modern paper while preserving its chemical and physical qualities, and in particular its mechanical resistance to stretching and tearing. The drying is homogeneous, so that no "hot spots" are created, and it takes place at a low temperature (30° C to 43° C). The drier can be adapted to the dimensions of the material to be treated. During treatment, paper flow can be regulated (from a few sheets to 10-20 sheets per minute), and the belt on which the paper is spread can be run with a backwards and forwards motion or continuously in one direction.

The prototype microwave drier has now moved into an industrial and commercial phase. Two were in operation by 1987, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale's preservation centre at Sablé-sur-Sarthe and the other in the laboratory for research on historic monuments at Champs-sur-Marne. In 1988, a third drier was installed in the restoration workshop of the University of Tübingen (Baden-Würtemberg, Federal Republic of Germany). ■

DENIS SERGENT, of France, is a scientific journalist in the Press Office of the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris.

Paper deacidifying plant at the French Bibliothèque Nationale's manuscript preservation centre at Sablé-sur-Sarthe.



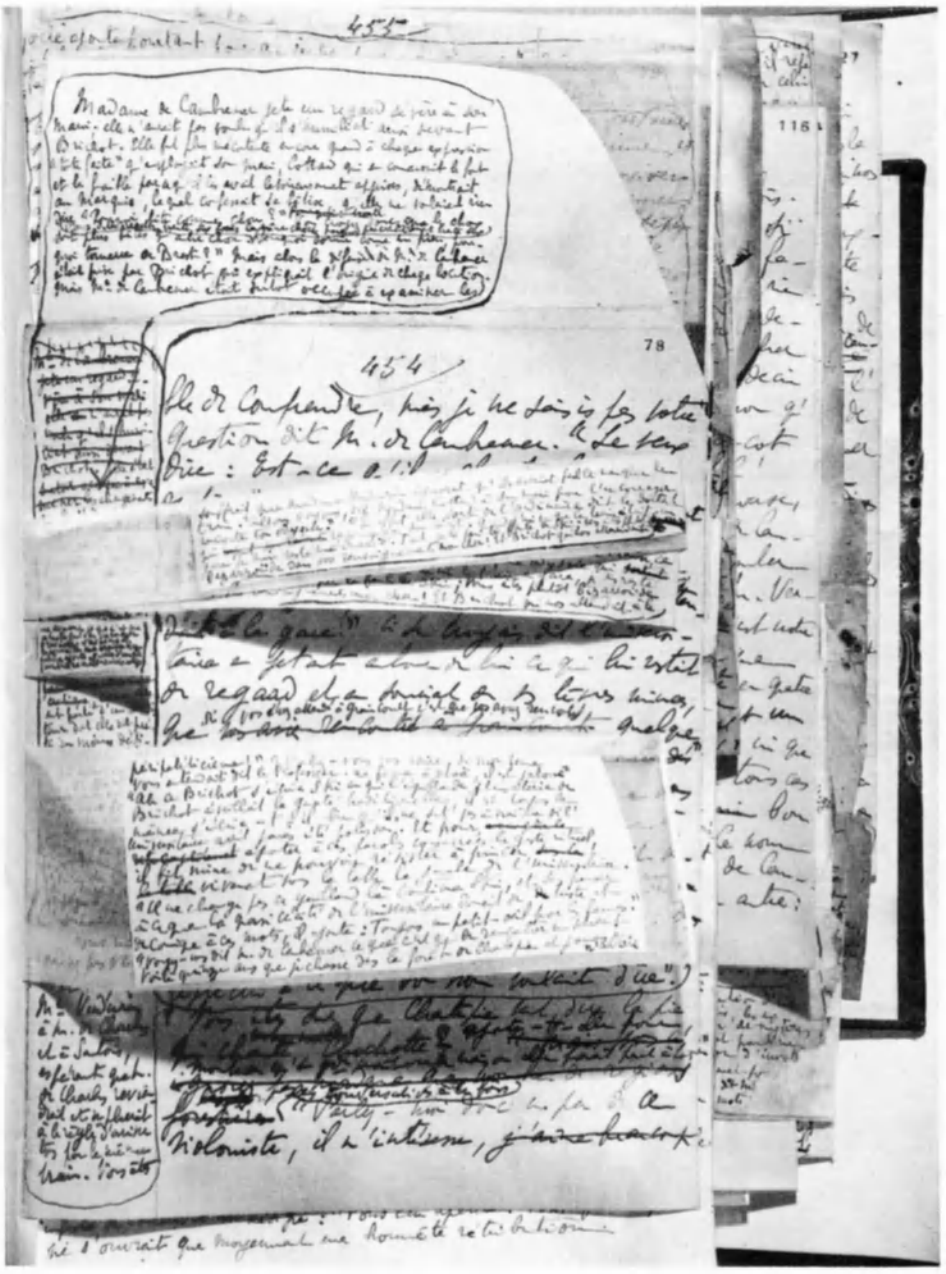
FRANCE'S BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

A LIBRARY IN ACTION

BY FLORENCE CALLU

FROM the time when Charles V, king of France from 1364-1380, assembled a thousand manuscripts in his library at the Louvre, French monarchs dreamed of building up an encyclopaedic library as witness to the culture of their times. Collectors of books and patrons of the arts have shared this concern and amassed treasures which, whether or not they ended up in the royal library, are part of the heritage of France.

The descendant of the first royal library, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has a prestigious collection of manuscripts which it is dedicated to enrich and preserve.



Page from Marcel Proust's notebook with drafts of *Sodome et Gomorrhe (1922)*, part of his novel *A la recherche du temps perdu (Remembrance of Things Past)*. Proust rewrote passages on slips of paper and pasted them over earlier drafts. The layers of paper have been separated and stored in muslin envelopes at the Bibliothèque Nationale's restoration workshop, so that the changing text can be studied from the first draft to the ultimate version.

Outstanding collections of modern manuscripts

Through an active acquisitions policy, the Bibliothèque Nationale seeks to complete its existing holdings when the occasion arises, and to build up new collections through donations, purchases and gifts received in lieu of payments to the state.

Gifts or bequests made by writers or their families, or by collectors, are a very important source of manuscript acquisitions. Exceptional bodies of work by nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers have been added to the collection in this way, including manuscripts by Victor Hugo, Flaubert, Zola, Apollinaire, Barrès, Anna de Noailles, Romain Rolland, Roger Martin du Gard, Jules Romains and Miguel Angel Asturias.

The main difficulty as far as purchases are concerned is that forward planning is rarely possible. In most cases documents suddenly appear on the market at an auction. If the pre-sale estimated price of a manuscript is high, beyond the library's ordinary budget, there is little time to obtain extra funds. The Bibliothèque Nationale was very fortunate in 1988, when special funding from the Ministry of Culture and Communication made possible the acquisition of the precious manuscript of *Mon coeur mis à nu* by Baudelaire, Apollinaire's poems *Alcools*, and a collection of poetry by Verlaine.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has the right to pre-empt a document offered at public auction at the price paid for it by the highest bidder (without itself taking part in the bidding). Moreover, before a manuscript can be taken out of the country an export licence must be applied for and submitted to the library for agreement. If the library is interested, it can order the work to be held by the customs and buy it at its declared price. A microfilm copy

of the manuscript must be made in any case before it leaves the country.

Among the great collections of contemporary manuscripts bought since the 1960s are the papers of Proust, Valéry, Claudel, Bernanos, Colette and Sartre.

In 1968 a law concerning donations to the state in lieu of death duties provided an additional safeguard to the French literary heritage. Under this law, the heirs to objets d'art may, after having them valued, take them before a legal commission which makes a ruling. Valuable additions to the Proust and Martin du Gard collections were acquired under this procedure.

In the strict sense, conservation of collections consists in keeping them in good condition in surroundings where complete security and freedom from pollution are guaranteed.

A calligram by Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918) that has recently been donated to the Bibliothèque Nationale. Portrait of Apollinaire, above, was painted by the French artist Jean Metzinger in 1914.

New techniques for conservation and safeguard

Two basic problems arise in relation to the manuscripts themselves—their bindings and the surface on which they are written or printed. Damaged bindings are repaired by the Central Restoration Workshop at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The most valuable are placed in ventilated canvas boxes, thus avoiding contact with the shelves. Parchments, which are very resistant to wear, pose few problems, nor does paper manufactured before the mid nineteenth century. But paper made after that date is at risk from a process of acidification and requires the use of recently developed techniques to halt the damage (see page 9).

These preservation techniques are backed up by protective legislation passed by the French government in 1977. Providing access to information is one of the vocations of the Bibliothèque Nationale, but a policy of accessibility to original manuscripts, which would be seriously damaged by too frequent handling, has to be reconciled with conservation policy. A special photographic workshop was opened in 1983 in the Department of Manuscripts, in which certain documents can be recorded systematically on microfilm. These are chosen on the basis of exceptional quality, and the amount of use to which they are subject. Microfilms, in monochrome for text and in colour for illuminated manuscripts, are gradually replacing the originals for consultation purposes, and readers are available in the microfilm room opened in 1985.

The Bibliothèque Nationale is the custodian of a valuable and fragile heritage, brought together by the kings of France, enriched with Church property confiscated during the Revolution and by gifts and purchases of quality made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Vigilant management is necessary in order to carry on a tradition which has remained unbroken for over five centuries. ■

FLORENCE CALLU, of France, is director of the Department of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. She has published many articles and essays on the preservation of manuscripts.

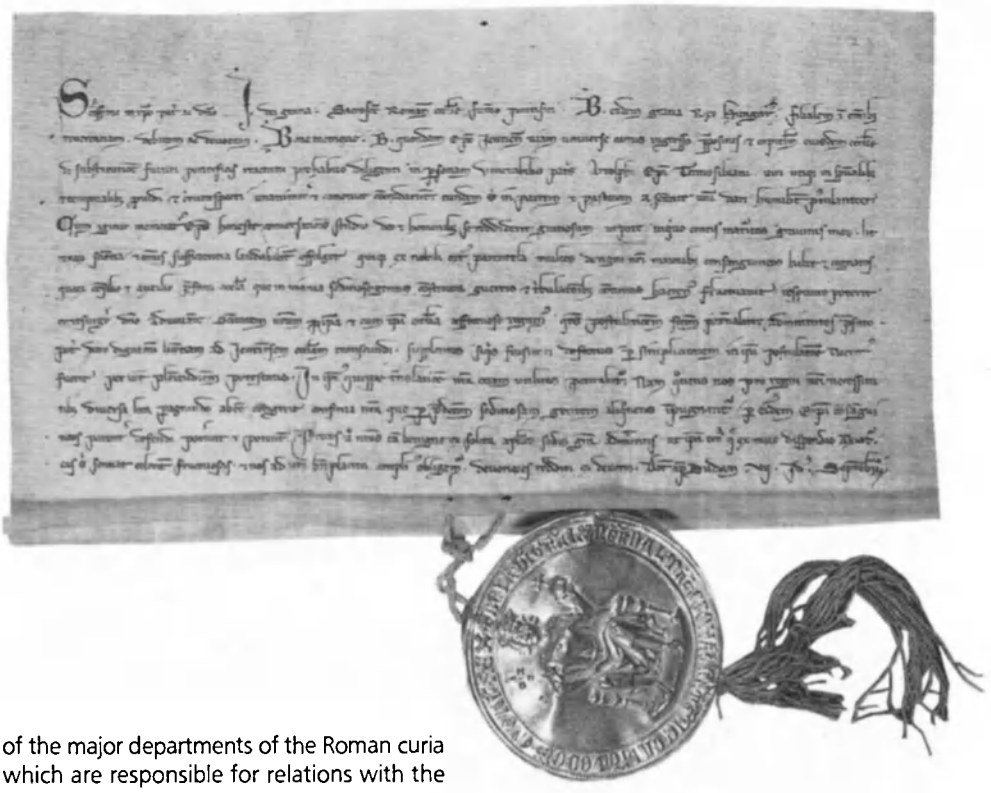
FROM THE WORLD'S ARCHIVES

The Vatican Library

THE Secret Archives of the Vatican (so named because of the practice whereby the archives of sixteenth-century European sovereigns were usually described as "secret") are by virtue of their universal nature, a documentary source of exceptional interest not only for religious and political history but also for the social and cultural development of many nations. In 1880 they were opened to the public, without distinction of nationality or religious persuasion, by Pope Leo XIII, and since then they have been used by scholars from all over the world. Each day some eighty researchers study in the Archives, while some 120 more use the Vatican Library.

The documents in the Vatican Archives originate from the bishops, priests, monks and laymen and women of local churches, and from the nunciatures of the Holy See. They contain ecclesiastical, historical, social, cultural, economic and political information. Also in the Vatican Archives are the records of the major departments of the Roman curia which are responsible for relations with the churches of the six continents.

Josef Metzler
Prefect of the Secret Archives of the Vatican



Letter bearing the seal of Bela IV, King of Hungary. It was sent in 1246 to Pope Innocent IV.

In February 1988, a fire in the Leningrad Library of the Soviet Academy of Sciences destroyed an estimated 400,000 volumes, and a further 3.6 million books and documents were damaged by fire and water. Unesco has helped the library to collect microfilm versions of many of the works that were destroyed and has advised on drying and restoration. Above, the cataloguing department and (inset) the periodicals reserve after the fire.

The Soviet Union, a scattered heritage

RICH holdings of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary manuscripts are preserved in the great libraries and research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences such as the Institute of Literature (Pushkin House) in Leningrad and the Institute of World Literature in Moscow. The Central State Archives of Literature and Art specialize in preservation work.

But facilities for the preservation and use of twentieth-century literary manuscripts leave much to be desired. Holdings cannot be efficiently consulted because they are not computerized. And in most cases the basic conditions for preservation do not exist.

Attempts to constitute the literary archives of Soviet authors are confronted with many obstacles. The manuscripts of great writers who were victims of Stalinist oppression were either destroyed or have been lost without trace. As a result of emigration, especially during the Civil War, the Soviet Union lost many of its leading creative artists and their manuscripts are today scattered all over the world, notably in the United States.

A comprehensive history of twentieth-century Russian literature is being prepared under the auspices of the Gorki Institute of

World Literature. It will record the full diversity of Russian literature written in this century both in the USSR and elsewhere. Where the manuscripts of works written outside the USSR are concerned, the gaps are very serious. If this project is to be brought to a successful conclusion, scholars engaged on it must at least be able to consult copies of manuscripts by these writers who produced their work outside the Soviet Union and use them as a basis for research and future critical editions.

The ideal solution would be to provide for the exchange of copies of manuscripts between different institutions and different countries. A comprehensive agreement on this point is needed to provide for mutual assistance in the collection, preservation, study and possible publication of literary manuscripts. Such an agreement should concern the manuscripts of all authors in all countries. The Central State Archives of Literature and Art, the repository of the most important collection in the Soviet Union, is ready to work towards this goal.

Natalia Volkova and Irina Nikiforova

The safeguard of manuscripts in Africa

THE art of the manuscript has been practised for several centuries in Ethiopia, in the Maghreb, in Muslim Black Africa and in southeastern Madagascar. But only relatively recently, during the period of European colonization, did written records begin to be kept throughout the continent. Today manuscript archives are found in all African countries. Some Ethiopian gospelbooks and other illuminated manuscripts written in Amharic and Geez (right) and certain Arabic manuscripts from the Maghreb, date as far back as the fourteenth century, but most of the remainder are contemporary or recent.

In spite of a growing awareness of the incalculable value of these manuscripts, few effective measures have been taken to safeguard and preserve them. The situation is in many ways disturbing because complete and systematic inventories have not been established at the national level, because of the slender resources of institutions in which manuscripts and documentary sources are kept, and because of lack of personnel specializing in the analysis, treatment and preservation of manuscripts.

18th-century prayer book written in Geez, a liturgical script of the Ethiopian Coptic Church from which Amharic was derived.

African manuscripts are housed in a variety of institutions ranging from libraries, research centres, archives services and publishing houses, to Ethiopian churches and monasteries, and mosques and Koranic schools in the Maghreb, Mauritania and Senegal. Many documents are in private hands. Writers and their families usually keep the manuscripts of their published works. Not only should the institutions where manuscripts are preserved be provided with adequate facilities; other holders of these cultural treasures should be identified.

Efforts should also be made to train specialized staff. Schools of library science, some of which have been functioning for several years, should be upgraded and provided with improved equipment. In too many cases, courses on the restoration and preservation of documents provided by library schools are excessively theoretical and the practical aspects are neglected.

Ousmane Sane

Director of the School of Librarians, Archivists and Documentalists, Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar (Senegal)

India: a new conservation policy

In contemporary India literary manuscripts are usually destroyed after publication, and authors rarely keep their manuscripts and other material related to their work. (One notable exception was the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, whose manuscripts are preserved at Visva-Bharati University.) Recently, however, India's National Academy of Letters *(Sahitya Akademi)* has adopted an acquisitions and conservation policy for contemporary literary documents, and the state has granted financial assistance to libraries for the preservation of rare manuscripts in their keeping. Below, reading room of the National Library at Calcutta, which has important manuscript collections.

THE QUEST FOR AUTHENTICITY

DURING the past few years, there has been a heightening of interest in the question of textual authenticity, a question to which little attention had been paid previously except by philologists, who studied only classical, medieval and Renaissance texts. Such scholars believed that contemporary texts lacked the value and distinction which ancient documents possess because they belong to a recognized literary tradition.

The writer betrayed

Most readers were indifferent to the question of authenticity, and cared little whether the novel, poem or essay they were reading corresponded exactly to what the author had written and intended to publish. And almost invariably the published text not only did not represent the author's intention, but altered and occasionally even betrayed it. In the past, it was easy to blame a scatterbrained copyist or compositor, or the interference of a censor. It was up to the philologist to restore the text to its original form, or at least produce a version as close as possible to the presumed intention of the author. This task consisted in detecting and eliminating the interferences, additions and alterations to which these texts had been subjected for centuries due to faulty transmission and inaccurate translations and interpretations.

In the case of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, scholarly indifference and threats to freedom of speech and opinion have introduced more distortions into original texts than those inflicted on medieval works. Ideological intolerance, overt or concealed censorship by writers and editors, the disappearance or wanton destruction of manuscripts and rough drafts—occasionally even their acquisition by booklovers who jealously hoard them—piracy or the publication of works without the author's control, have often altered the conditions in which these works were conceived, written, transmitted and published.

Readers and scholars have now changed their attitude. Some have understood the importance of the integrity of literary works and increasingly demand accurate editions endorsed by informed criticism. Others—from the outset or after a life dedicated to the laborious reconstitution of texts ravaged by time—have discovered the satisfaction of working on texts for which, in most cases, the process of elaboration from the first draft to the final version can be reconstituted.

Scene of a performance of *The Barber of Seville* (1816), by Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868), at the Festival of Aix-en-Provence, France.

The establishment of real or presumed authenticity is of fundamental importance. A civilization like ours, based essentially on books, that is on the written word, requires a text to reflect, without excessive distortion or deformation, all the conventions of the social contract, the ideologies, the cultural traditions, the very structure of society. Law books and holy scriptures, classical and contemporary literature, historical documents and music scores, must all be error-free if clear and precise norms are to be set and the legacy of which we are the beneficiaries and the guardians is to be preserved intact.

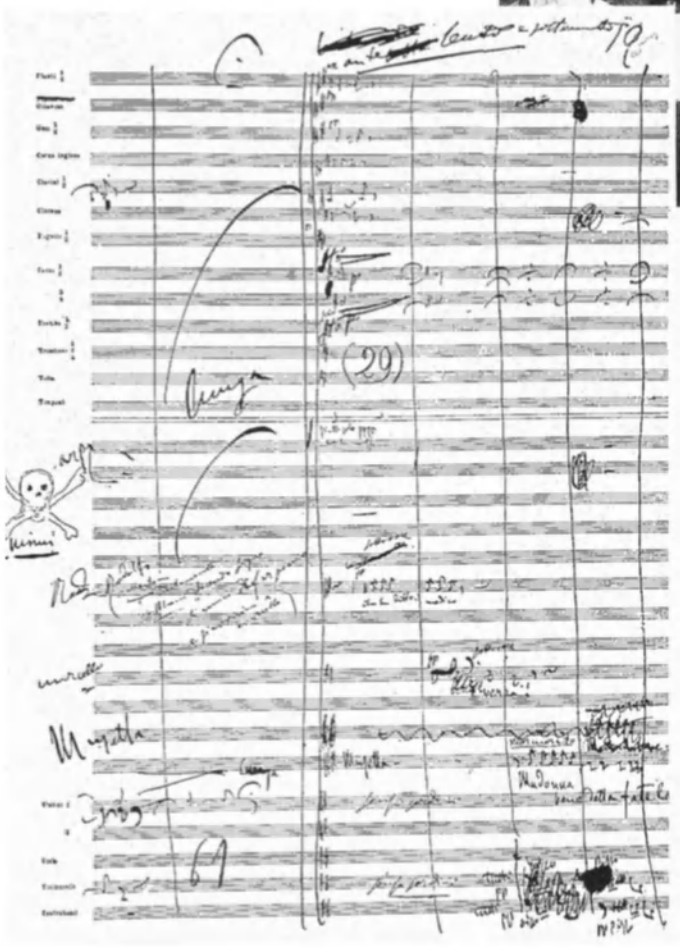
The text transformed between 1st draft and final proofs

There is a big difference between contemporary literary texts and those of the past. In the case of the latter, manuscripts and printed versions rarely correspond to what the author wished to say, because they were copied or printed without his control, often long after they had been written. In the case of the former, one or several versions usually exist, all original, corresponding to different stages in the

BY GIUSEPPE TAVANI

For want of a horse ...

The pre-text consists of everything that goes into the creation of a work of literature, everything that reflects the writer's imagination and vision. This complex and ever-changing pattern of elements abandoned and retrieved, of fragments of writing covered with later additions or abridged to the point of obscurity, of dissected and reassembled statements, of passages which themselves do not change but whose meaning changes as they are moved around, is a source of valuable information. It is possible to find in the pre-text not only clarification of the published work, but also the mechanisms of its creation. A reading of the rough drafts allows us to verify, for example, the extent to which the author's modifications of a work can be useful for its interpretation, and how well they harmonize with or modify its context and in which sense.

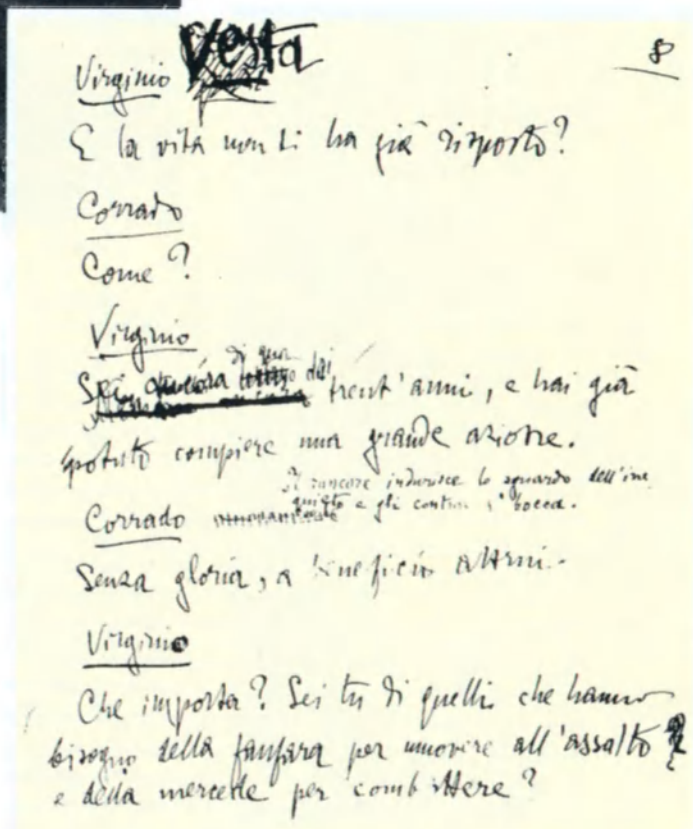


Sheet from the manuscript of the opera *La Bohème* (1896), by the Italian composer Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924), above.

composition of the text.

This difference reveals one characteristic of a work of literature which has been hitherto ignored or neglected. Manuscripts which show how many transformations it undergoes while it is being created indicate that a work of literature is never one-dimensional and is something more than the current edition or even the fair copy that the writer delivers to the printer. On the contrary, every work of literature has several dimensions. It takes shape slowly, sometimes very slowly, as a result of a series of transformations and variations which form what might be called the "pre-text"—all the textual material and documents, from the first draft to the proofs corrected by the author, and subsequent editions where further changes occurred.

The first stanza of Alfred de Musset's poem *Venise,* which originally read *Dans Venise la rouge / pas un cheval qui bouge / pas un pêcheur dans l'eau / pas un falot* ("In Venice the red / nary a horse was moving / nor a fisherman in the water / nor a lantern") was modified by the poet who, perhaps realizing that horses are not to be seen in Venice, replaced "horse" by "boat" (nary a boat was moving). In so doing, as a modern critic has pointed out, "he substituted an incoherent image for a coherent one which opened the poem with a synthesis developed in the following stanzas", and this substitution "eliminates the contrast of



Virginio

E la vita non li ha già rimorto?

Corrado

Come?

Virginio

Sei [illegible] dei trent'anni, e hai già potuto compiere una grande azione.

Corrado

Senza gloria, a beneficio altrui.

Virginio

Che importa? Sei tu di quelli che hanno bisogno della fanfara per muovere all'assalto e della mercede per combattere?

Right, page 8 of the manuscript of *Più che l'amore* ("Only Love") by the Italian novelist Gabriele d'Annunzio (1863-1938). Above, D'Annunzio (at right in photo) with the French writer and politician Maurice Barrès, during the First World War.

the earth (horse) and water (fisherman), weakens the spatial notations and destroys the totalizing function of the first stanza"[1].

A service to the reader

Of course, if all variants are significant, they do not all necessarily modify only a short segment of text, as in the case of de Musset's boat. The alterations may involve entire sentences, even paragraphs or chapters. Sometimes, the minor variants, in addition to the modifications that each one independently introduces in the text, may be so numerous that they require, no less than the major variants, sustained and constant attention. A modern edition of a literary work cannot ignore this textual mobility. Manuscripts, rough drafts, notes and successive revisions must be used not only to clarify the meaning of the text and interpret it as correctly as possible, but also to give the reader an opportunity to grasp its dynamism. In the case of censored or self-censored texts, a return to the pre-text usually makes it possible to establish the authentic wording through the identification and elimination of superfluous additions and the re-establishment of fragments of text banished by the censor's blue pencil.

The new science of manuscriptology

The first problem raised by rough drafts is that of decipherment. A glance at the manuscript of Gustave Flaubert's story *Un Coeur Simple* is enough to show that decipherment is not always easy. A second problem, in this case of a stratigraphic nature, is that of retracing the history of the text by taking the complex body of original material and making a chronological classification of the author's alterations to the text through the analysis of paper, ink, pens and handwriting. The methods and techniques of this procedure have given rise to a new discipline: manuscriptology.

These operations are often so complex that they are beyond the capacities of a single person, and most critical editions of contemporary literary manuscripts are the work of teams which almost invariably use computers to help them perform a task which nevertheless takes several years. Cases of this kind include the *Corpus Flaubertianum* on which Giovanni Bonaccorso and his collaborators are currently working; the drafts of Marcel Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu (Remembrance of Things Past)* which a team of scholars at the Institute of Modern Texts and Manuscripts at the French National Centre for Scientific Research has been studying for several years; James Joyce's *Ulysses;* Franz Kafka's *Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe* ("Writings, Diaries and Letters") in addition to the contemporary Latin-American works which are being studied by over a hundred teams of specialists—one for each of the planned critical editions being prepared under the scientific direction of an international committee (see article page 18).

The tribulations of Ulysses

It required seven years of work to produce the critical edition of *Ulysses* and correct the 5,000 errors of the current edition, which reproduces the very corrupt text of the eighth edition (1960). The misfortune which has pursued this text since the first edition of 1922 is not unusual in the history of printing. Joyce's complaint in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver—"I am extremely irritated by all those printer's errors ... Are these to be perpetuated in future editions? I hope not."—is of a kind frequently found in writers' correspondence, even with seemingly less justification, such as matters of punctuation, which is more often subject to the house style of printers, rather than the author's wishes. Thus, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote on 17 June 1758 to Marc-

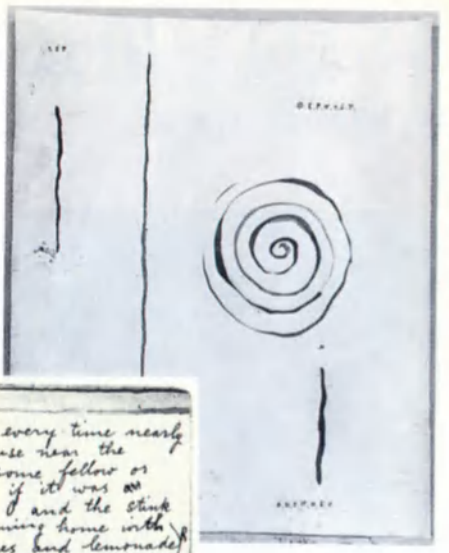
Michel Rey, with regard to his *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles:* "there are however suspension points added after certain words on pages 27 and 48. I understand why they have been put there, especially the last ones, but I don't like them, and would ask you not to do so again, unless found in the copy. I also find too many commas. Different divisions within the same sentence should not be marked by the same punctuation. It completely obstructs the meaning"[2].

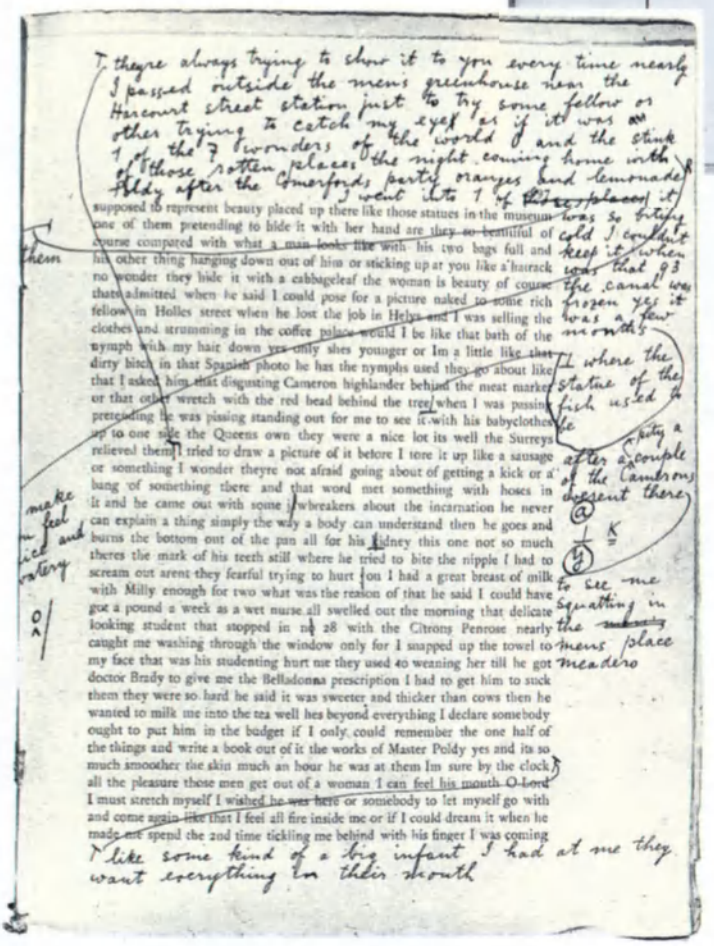
These examples reveal how persistent authors can be in their quest for the ideal printing which entirely respects their stylistic requirement. This ideal today's critical editions aspire to achieve. They also illustrate the value of writers' private correspondence for re-establishing the authentic textual order wished by them.

Authentic scores of great operas

It is obvious that the problem of re-establishing the authenticity of a text is not limited to literature, but concerns all creative works, including music scores. For the past thirty years, original scores (or at least transcriptions controlled directly by the author) have been recovered and critical editions prepared by research teams working directly on the manuscript sources and first editions, in order to locate alterations and additions introduced by the transcribers and the performers, to eliminate them and to bring the text back to its original form. This tremendous undertaking has begun to bear fruit. Critical editions of *Il Barbiere di Siviglia, Cenerentola, La Gazza ladra, L'Italiana in Algeri, Tancredi, Il Signor Bruschino,* and *Il Turco in Italia* have recently been published by the Fondazione Rossini at Pesaro, and editions of Verdi's *Rigoletto, Ernani* and *Requiem Mass* have been published by the Instituto di Studi Verdiani at Parma, the Ricordi publishing house and the University of Chicago. A critical edition of Puccini's *La Bohème* and of Bellini's *Norma* are in preparation.

Texts restored by musicologists are usually favourably received by the public and critics. The critical edition of *The Barber of Seville* was performed 192 times in 1984 and 178 times in 1985, while the traditional score was only used for 44 and 57 representations respectively. Preference is given to the authentic score even if fairly correct traditional editions are available.





Left, page proof with author's corrections from *Ulysses*, by the Irish novelist James Joyce (1882-1941). Above, symbolic representation of Joyce, drawn in Indian ink for the frontispiece of a book, by the Romanian sculptor Constantin Brancusi (1929).

The question of access

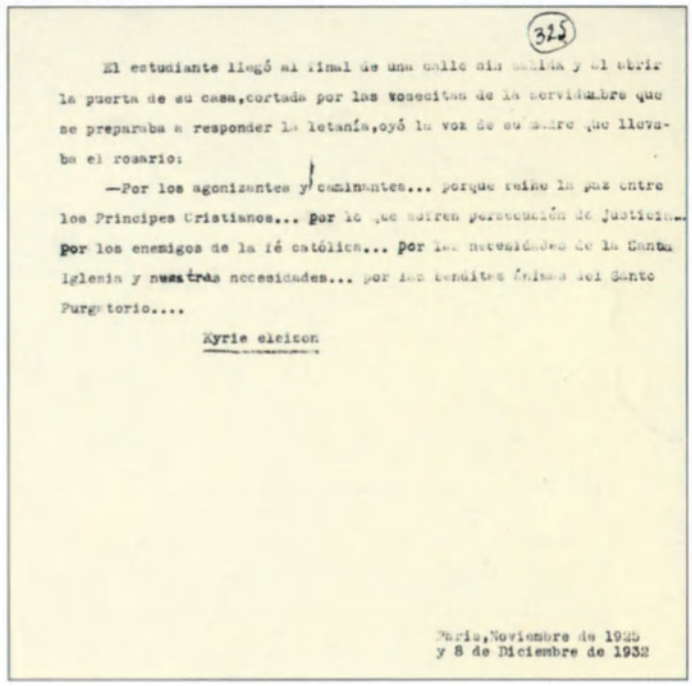
In order to decipher rough drafts and prepare critical editions, researchers must clearly have easy access to manuscripts. It is vital that documentation on writers (and composers) should be assembled in special departments of public libraries, where it can be consulted by manuscriptologists and philologists. The situation in this respect is far better today than it was thirty years ago. Collections of modern manuscripts began to appear at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but their proliferation has only taken place in recent decades, coinciding with the growing interest in authentic texts. Foundations have been created to bring together the manuscripts of writers or composers. University institutions and research centres are also taking action, and most national libraries have created departments of modern manuscripts, which are now treated with the care that was formerly reserved for ancient manuscripts. ■

1. Henri Coulet, *Le bateau de Musset et l'ancre de Segalen,* in *Avant-texte, texte, après-texte,* Paris-Budapest, 1982.
2. Rousseau's polemical treatise on the question of the morality of theatrical performances, in reply to an article by the French philosopher Jean d'Alembert in the *Encyclopédie. Editor*

GIUSEPPE TAVANI, of Italy, is a professor in the faculty of philosophy and letters at the University of Rome. The author of several studies on textual criticism and of critical editions of medieval texts, he is a member of the international scientific committee of the Archives Collection.

THE ARCHIVES COLLECTION,

BY AMOS SEGALA



El estudiante llegó al final de una calle sin salida y al abrir la puerta de su casa, cortada por las voseciton de la servidumbre que se preparaba a responder la letanía, oyó la voz de su padre que llevaba el rosario:

—Por los agonizantes y caminantes... porque reine la paz entre los Principes Cristianos... por lo que sufren persecución de Justicia... por los enemigos de la fé católica... por las necesidades de la Santa Iglesia y nuestras necesidades... por los benditos ánimas del Santo Purgatorio....

Kyrie eleison

Paris, Noviembre de 1925
y 8 de Diciembre de 1932

Above, the Guatemalan writer Miguel Angel Asturias in 1956. His manuscripts, which he donated to France's Bibliothèque Nationale, were the nucleus of the "Archives Collection" (see article). The final page of the manuscript of his novel *El señor presidente*, right, shows that the work was written between 1925 and 1932, and not around 1945 as critics once believed.

FIFTEEN years ago, the Guatemalan writer and poet Miguel Angel Asturias (1899-1974), winner of the 1967 Nobel Prize for Literature, donated his manuscripts and archives to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, so that they could be preserved there and used in the preparation of an international edition of his work using modern methods of textual analysis and criticism.

The results have been highly instructive. In the first place, despite the expressed wish of the author, many of his manuscripts were not made available to the Bibliothèque Nationale, and other documents essential to the understanding of his work were dispersed and perhaps lost for ever. Secondly, where documentation was available, as in the case of the novels *El señor presidente* (*The President*, 1963) and *Hombres de maíz* (*Men of Maize*, 1975), methods of textual analysis have evolved so radically that the establishment of a critical edition led to a complete reassessment of the work.

We made sure that we had learned all we could from this initial experiment before recommending its extension to the works of other Latin American writers, and eventually to the literatures of other parts of the developing world.

At the World Conference on Cultural Policies organized by Unesco and held in Mexico City in 1982, Léopold Sédar Senghor called on Unesco member states to take international action for the preservation, evaluation and study of twentieth-century manuscripts. At the time, Mr. Senghor was president of ALLCA, the Latin American, Caribbean and African 20th-century Literary Archives Association, which had grown out of the Friends of Miguel Angel Asturias.

In 1983 and 1984 international meetings were held in several countries to discuss these issues. The gatherings were organized by the National Centre for Scientific Research and the Bibliothèque Nationale in France; by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerce (CNR) in Italy; and by the Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa (ICALP) in Portugal. Specialists in philology, linguistics, history, Latin American literature and comparative literature took part in interdisciplinary workshops, and a "Multilateral Agreement on Archival Research and Co-Publications" was drafted and then signed in September 1984 at Buenos Aires (Argentina) by four European countries—France, Italy, Portugal and Spain—and four Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico.

An international agreement

The aims of this "Archives Agreement" are to promote:

- philological and linguistic analysis of texts on the basis of manuscript or published versions approved by the author, and the transcription and study of variants, i.e. the establishment of a reliable, authentic text and the history of its creation;
- the compilation of dossiers on each author, his or her writings, and the problems they raise;
- textual and contextual analyses by critics from the same country or region as the author or from elsewhere;
- the systematic examination of texts from an international and interdisciplinary viewpoint; this approach is not intrinsically new but it is innovatory in the case of the Archives Agreement because of its scope and long-term nature.

As a result of the Archives Agreement, a number of literary works began to be published in a series known as the Archives Collection (*Colección "Archivos"*) in several cities of Latin America. Each year ten or so titles are scheduled for publication in the Collection. All the countries of the region and four languages (Spanish, Portuguese, French, English) are represented. The project is thus contributing to the recognition by international scholarship of each country's classic authors, to a reassessment of the literary history of Latin America in the twentieth century, and to the establishment of a distribution network for Latin American literature which will be as wide-ranging as the intellectual, technical and financial efforts that have gone into it.

The scientific direction of the Collection is in the hands of an international committee of twenty-seven specialists in the relevant literary disciplines. ALLCA also has a publishing committee consist-

ing of internationally known specialists and the people directly concerned with producing the Collection.

120 titles from 22 countries

Backing for the Collection is provided on an equal footing by the eight signatories to the Archives Agreement. The European countries grant financial subventions and the Latin American countries provide contributions in kind. From the outset Unesco and especially its International Fund for the Promotion of Culture has provided the project with financial and other support.

In France, the National Centre for Scientific Research and the University of Paris X have set up a research group to co-ordinate the scholarly work being carried out in the other signatory countries, improve the methodology of the project

Left, poster advertising the *Colección Archivos* ("Archives Collection"), a series of editions of 20th-century works of literature from Latin America and the Caribbean prepared and published as a result of an international agreement signed in 1984 at Buenos Aires (Argentina). Scheduled for publication are 120 critical editions of works in Spanish, Portuguese, French or English. With Unesco support, each title published in one of these languages will be translated into the other three, as well as into Italian and German.

A recent survey carried out in Latin America under the auspices of Unesco's International Fund for the Promotion of Culture concluded that there was a need for legal instruments whereby states would preserve contemporary literary manuscripts as part of their national heritage and, in a region where many library personnel are trained in preservation techniques, for improved technical facilities in this field. The survey also suggested that manuscripts should be made more easily accessible to scholars. As a response to the study, Venezuela has passed legislation on the protection and preservation of manuscripts. Left, contents page from *Cantares mexicanos*, a manuscript preserved in the National Library of Mexico.

and add new titles to the Collection, taking into account the results obtained so far.

With the publication of 120 titles by authors from twenty-two countries in the pipeline, the Archives Collection represents the cultural and linguistic wealth and diversity of an entire region. Its scale and timespan are unprecedented for a programme of cultural and scientific co-operation of this kind.

The Latin American countries which were or are unused to working together in this field, and lacked the opportunity for mutual understanding despite their common history, have thus embarked on a long-term sharing of literary experiences which will bring them closer together.

Another interesting aspect of the Archives Agreement is the participation in it of four European countries which are profoundly and irreversibly linked to Latin America. The Agreement thus breaks new ground both in Latin America and in the Latin countries of Europe, heralding new forms of international scientific co-operation and cultural solidarity.

What are the underlying reasons for this Agreement which mobilizes 500 specialists from a wide range of disciplines, eight governments, many institutions and considerable resources? The answer is that Latin American literature, currently one of the world's richest, is an extreme example of the isolation and neglect that in some cases afflict the literature of developing countries. The Archives Collection is not only an instructive experience in itself, but a test case from which other regions can learn.

As Mr. Senghor has said, Africa sees this project as a "promise for the future, a laboratory where the new civilization of the third millennium is taking shape, a universal civilization based on a dialogue between cultures". ■

AMOS SEGALA, of Italy, is secretary-general of the Latin American, Caribbean and African 20th-century Literary Archives Association (ALLCA) and director of the Archives Collection. A researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research, and the author of several studies on ancient Mexican texts he co-ordinated the publication of critical editions of the works of the Guatemalan writer Miguel Angel Asturias.

Titles published

- MIGUEL ANGEL ASTURIAS
  París 1924-1933
  Periodismo y creación literaria
  (Amos Segala)
- RICARDO GÜIRALDES
  Don Segundo Sombra
  (Paul Verdevoye)
- JOSE LEZAMA LIMA
  Paradiso
  (Cintio Vitier)
- CESAR VALLEJO
  Obra poética
  (Américo Ferrari)
- MARIANO AZUELA
  Los de abajo
  (Jorge Ruffinelli)
- MARIO DE ANDRADE
  Macunaíma
  (Telê Porto Ancona Lopez)
- JORGE ICAZA
  El Chulla Romero y Flores
  (Renaud Richard/Ricardo Descalzi)
- TERESA DE LA PARRA
  Las Memorias de Mamá Blanca
  (Velia Bosch)
- ENRIQUE AMORIM
  La carreta
  (Fernando Ainsa)
- ALCIDES ARGUEDAS
  Raza de Bronce
  (Antonio D. Lorente Medina)
- JOSE GOROSTIZA
  Poesía y Poética
  (Edelmira Ramírez Levva)
- CLARICE LISPECTOR
  A Paixão Segundo G.H.
  (Benedito Nunes)

Publishing programme for 1989-1990

- JULIO CORTAZAR
  Rayuela
  (Saúl Yurkievich - Julio Ortega)
- GABRIEL CASACCIA
  La Babosa
  (Francisco Feito)
- EZEQUIEL MARTINEZ ESTRADA
  Radiografía de la Pampa
  (Leo Pollmann)
- OSWALD DE ANDRADE
  Manifiestos e poesía
  (Jorge Schwartz)
- JOAO GUIMARAES ROSA
  Grande Sertão, Vereda
  (Walnice Nogueira Galvão)
- HORACIO QUIROGA
  Los Cuentos
  (Rubén Bareiro Saguier)
- VICENTE HUIDOBRO
  Poesía completa
  (Saúl Yurkievich)
- JOSE ASUNCION SILVA
  Obra completa
  (Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda - Héctor Orjuela)
- TOMAS CARRASQUILLA
  Los cuentos
  (Uriel Ospina)
- JOSE EUSTASIO RIVERA
  La Voragine
  (Hernán Lozano)
- JOSE DE LA CUADRA
  «Los Sangurimas» y otros cuentos
  (Diego Araujo)
- ROMULO GALLEGOS
  Canaima
  (Charles Minguet)
- JOSE REVUELTAS
  Los días terrenales
  (Evodio Escalante)
- JUAN RULFO
  Obra completa
  (Carlos Montemayor)
- JOSE VASCONCELOS
  Ulises Criollo
  (Claude Fell)
- BALDOMERO FERNANDEZ MORENO
  Poesía
  (Mario Benedetti)
- JOSE MARIA ARGUEDAS
  El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo
  (Eve Marie Fell)
- RICARDO PALMA
  Tradiciones peruanas
  (Julio Ortega)
- JOAQUIM MACHADO DE ASSIS
  Papéis avulsos
  (José Guilherme Merquior)
- RAFAEL AREVALO MARTINEZ
  El hombre que parecía un caballo
  (Dante Liano)

LITERARY DETECTION AND LATIN AMERICAN WRITING

BY FERNANDO AINSA

IN 1915, at the height of the Mexican Revolution, the writer Mariano Azuela published a serial in an obscure newspaper in El Paso, across the US frontier in Texas. At the time he was writing for the paper, *El Paso del Norte,* his stories reflected developments in the Revolution. Some months later he collected the episodes of the serial and turned them into a novel, which by 1925 was recognized as a classic of twentieth-century Latin American literature under the title *Los de abajo (The Underdogs).*

The fate of The Underdogs

The novel went through several editions, and by 1983 had sold more than a million copies, but the text had been repeatedly changed. Azuela had amended and expanded the short original novel in each of the successive editions published during his lifetime. Only after his death in 1952 at the age of seventy-nine, when he was already a famous writer, was the "definitive" edition of the novel prepared. It was finally published in 1958.

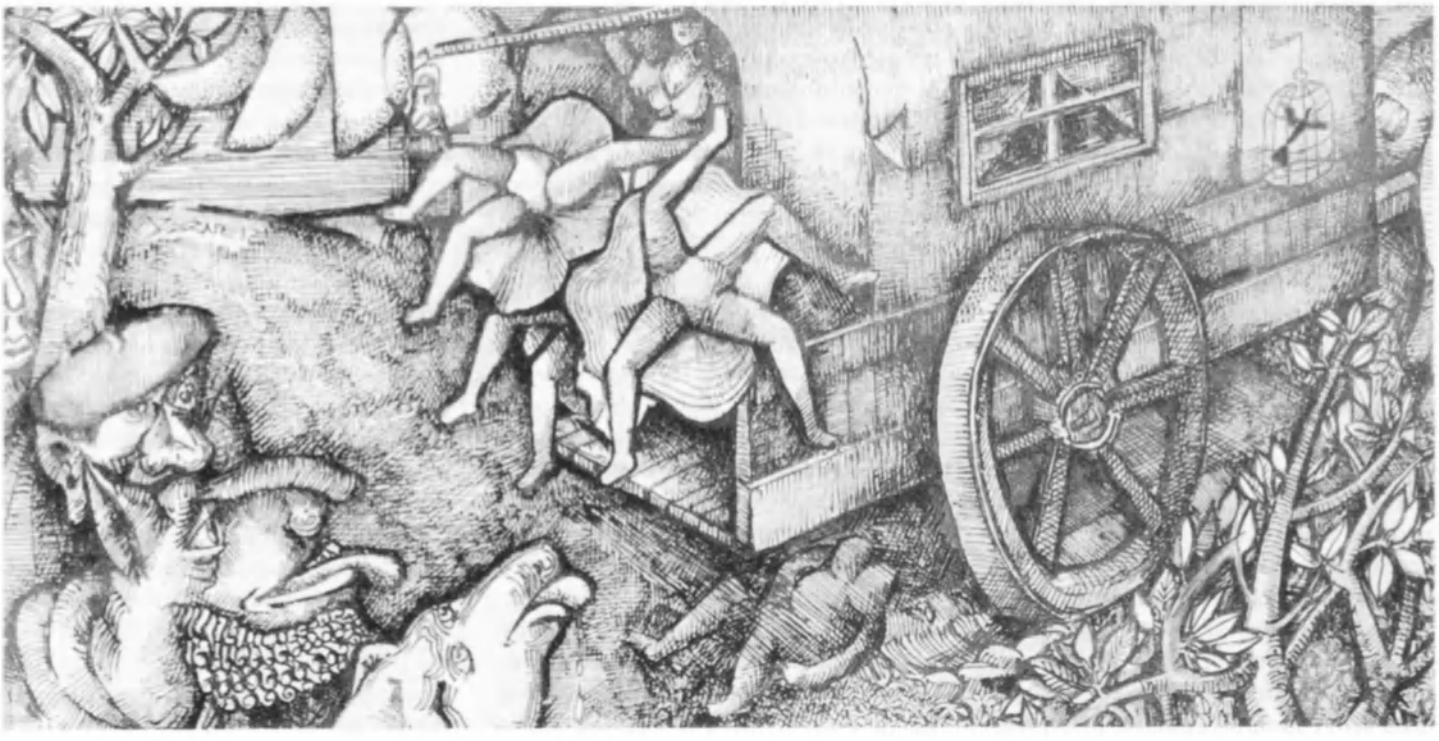
Azuela had begun by changing the verbs in the 1920 edition from the present to the past tense, altering adjectives, and correcting punctuation, spelling and syntax. After *Los de abajo* became the established "novel of the Mexican revolution", Azuela decided to rewrite it extensively. In the 1938 edition he introduced a new character, Valderrama, who brought a humorous touch to the austere original version. He modified his Manichean representation of the revolutionary general, Pancho Villa, and made important ideological changes in the behaviour of other characters, such as the cynical Luis Cervantes. The novel which he had written in the sound and the fury of the Revolution became a more detached reflection on Mexican history. Times had changed. The revolution had become "institutionalized" and Mariano Azuela had become an established author.

Meanwhile, the newspaper in which Azuela's original text had been published had disappeared without trace. Surprisingly, the paper was not registered, even in the United States, and not a single copy had been kept. Thus for over sixty years only the second and third editions of *Los de abajo* were known, while a semi-mythical legend grew up around the lost first version. Then, thanks to the perseverance of an American researcher, Stanley R. Robe, an incomplete set of *El Paso del Norte* was found in a private collection in 1979.

Only then did most of the original text of *Los de abajo* become available, allowing the comparison and collation of different editions and the publication of a critical edition indicating important changes in the text. Apart from the academic interest of such an enterprise, critics now had a great opportunity to make a genealogical study of the text and a comparison of the different versions from a linguistic and semiotic point of view. Literary critics and Azuela specialists jumped at the chance.

The fate of the text of *Los de abajo* closely resembles that of other works of Latin American literature, where all trace of manuscripts, drafts, or simple annotations indicating the author's creative process has been lost. But it is also an example of the confusion that can arise when successive editions pick up misprints or spelling mistakes from a care-

Cover illustration from the critical edition of the Uruguayan writer Enrique Amorim's novel *La carreta* ("The Wagon"), recently published in the Archives Collection. Analysis of the author's archives revealed over 1,500 differences between the first and sixth editions of the novel.



lessly produced first edition, afterwards reproduced without anyone checking the original—something which is not always feasible.

A revaluation of César Vallejo

One of the most striking examples of this process is the work of the Peruvian poet, César Vallejo, which has had a chequered fate even though Vallejo is one of the major figures of Latin American literature. The two collections of poems published during his lifetime, *Los heraldos negros* (1918; "The Black Heralds") and *Trilce* (1922), were quickly forgotten. Reprints and anthologies published after his premature death in 1938 were full of inaccuracies. His publishers' use of arbitrary chronologies and indiscriminately-chosen titles, such as *Poemas humanos* (1939; "Human Poems"), has led to his work coming out in a distorted and fragmentary form.

Moreover, as often happens to writers whose estates give rise to bitter dispute among their heirs, the excessive zeal of Vallejo's widow resulted in most of the poet's output remaining unpublished for thirty years. Only in 1968, when Vallejo's fame was established beyond doubt, did his widow agree to the publication of this body of work. Once again an arbitrary chronology and title were used—*Poemas en prosa* ("Prose Poems"). As if this were not enough, other typescripts and manuscript originals in her possession disappeared mysteriously after her death in 1984. But the saga of Vallejo's work did not end there. Some years ago, the first edition of the poems inspired by the Spanish Civil War, *España, aparta de mí este cáliz* ("Spain, take away this cup from me"), which was thought to have been lost at the time of the Republican defeat in 1939, was discovered hidden in the monastery of Montserrat in Catalonia.

The task of retracing the development of Vallejo's work from such incomplete and unreliable elements was a great challenge. The absence of drafts, notes, manuscripts or first versions made it impossible to undertake a complete genealogical study of the kind which is possible when writers bequeath their papers to a national library. But a philological and genealogical study of the "internal" features of Vallejo's work could be made which goes beyond mere conjecture. Proceeding from recurring themes and the evolution in style, an international team led by the critic Américo Ferrari has

The Cuban writer José Lezama Lima (1912-1976). A critical edition of his novel *Paradiso* has been published in the Archives Collection.

succeeded in "deconstructing" existing anthologies and "constructing" an approximate chronology which throws light on unpublished parts of the poet's work and relates them to the whole, thus necessitating a reassessment of the definitive texts.

'Paradise' regained

A similar case is that of the Cuban writer José Lezama Lima. The first edition of his voluminous novel *Paradiso* ("Paradise") was full of typographical errors which for many years were taken to be deliberate mistakes made by the author, since he had checked the proofs. Seventy per cent of the errors which he had inadvertently overlooked were attributed to his style, to indiscriminate use of quotations and references and to the full stops and commas which he scattered in time with "the rhythm of his asthmatic breathing", as he ironically remarked, and not according to the prevailing rules of grammar.

An attempt was made several years later to correct the innumerable errors in the 1966 Cuban edition in a second, Mexican, edition supervised by the writer Julio Cortázar. But a new problem arose. Not having the original manuscript from which to check the text, the publishers introduced new errors, changed Lezama Lima's idiosyncratic style to the extent of altering the meaning of some passages, and corrected the author's spelling of personal and place names. Lezama Lima himself lost interest. Letters addressed to him by his publisher remained unanswered and he claimed that checking the proofs of the text against the manuscript would "tire" him.

Over twenty years went by before the published texts could be compared with the manuscripts deposited in the José Martí National Library in Havana. This painstaking task, carried out by Lezama Lima's old friend, the poet Cintio Vitier, made it possible to establish the definitive text of *Paradiso*. There were many surprises, and thanks to the resulting critical edition, many judgements of the novel are being revised.

The examples of Azuela, Vallejo and Lezama Lima show how important it is to apply an adequate methodology when studying the "itinerary" of literary texts in regions like Latin America and the Caribbean, where insufficient importance has hitherto been attached to the preservation, evaluation and study of manuscripts and to the variations which can exist between different editions of the same work. Literary manuscripts have not received the same attention as historical documents, and there are few countries whose national libraries have a department specializing in the preservation and study of their writers' "archives".

29 years from 1st edition to 'definitive text'

An interesting example is provided by the Literary Archives of Uruguay's National Library, thanks to which it was possible to prepare a critical edition of Enrique Amorim's *La carreta* ("The Wagon"). The problem here was quite different from that posed by César Vallejo's work, in that Amorim's widow, Esther Haedo, had donated all her husband's personal papers, which included a lot of material relating to his work. There were enough manuscripts, drafts, plans, typed copies corrected by hand, and published texts (different editions of the novel) and a large dossier on matters relating to *La carreta*, such as correspondence and critics' reactions. The task was to classify and interpret all this material.

Its analysis brought other facts to light. Amorim's novel, published in 1932, was an amalgam of four short stories which appeared between 1923 and 1927. The first of them, *Las Quintanderas*, contained the "genetic seed" or nucleus of the novel, so that all the statements by the author, letters and controversies arising from its publication, would be of fundamental importance for a genealogical textual criticism.

Despite the novel's success, and the fact that the first two editions were sold out immediately, Amorim was not satisfied with the structure of *La carreta*, feeling that it was too dependent on the original short stories. A couple of years later, he changed the order of the chapters, made stylistic changes in order to achieve greater unity, and published a third, revised edition.

Although he was still dissatisfied with *La carreta*, Amorim dashed off other novels and stories which he published at this time. Obsessed by the "imperfect", "unfinished" character of this first novel, he made further changes in the text of every edition. In 1942 he even added a new chapter, which had been published as a short story entitled *Carreta solitaria* a year earlier. It was not until the sixth edition of 1952 that the "definitive" text of the novel was established. Like *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, the structure of which greatly preoccupied Gustave Flaubert, Amorim's novel, put together from "remnants" and worked upon during a large part of his life, became its author's favourite.

This creative process lasting twenty-nine years has left over 1,500 differences between the first and last editions of *La carreta*. Their inventory is of interest because the "deconstruction" of the novel, from the definitive 1952 edition back to the short story of 1923, has made it possible to study the development of the work.

The paradox of *La carreta* is that the critical edition of a work that is imperfect but laboriously prepared is more interesting than that of one which is theoretically perfect but was written "at one go". Amorim could have agreed with the German thinker Walter Benjamin, who said that "for a great writer, a finished work is of less importance than a fragment on which he has been working all his life".

Cortázar's logbook

In the development of genealogical textual criticism in Latin America, in which an initiative like the Archives Collection* plays an important role, the Argentine author Julio Cortázar has involuntarily provided excellent material for researchers. When he began writing his novel *Rayuela* (1963; *Hopscotch)* on 7 November 1958, he decided to keep a sort of diary of the creative process which he significantly called *El cuaderno de bitácora de Rayuela*, or "the log book of Rayuela", to which he committed at random outlines of scenes, lists of characters, successive plans for the arrangement of the work, diagrams and sketches, all of which represented the development of the novel he was to publish five years later.

The career of this log book did not end with the publication of *Rayuela* in 1963. Exactly twenty years later, in 1983, *El cuaderno de bitácora de Rayuela* was published in Buenos Aires and in turn became an object of genealogical study.

Whether they deal with incomplete or carefully preserved manuscripts, scattered literary archives or those deposited in public or private collections, studies of this kind are attracting more and more interest in regions like Latin America and the Caribbean, whose "voices of identity" are raised in the cause of safeguarding our heritage, of which the written word is one of the essential pillars. ■

* The five examples cited in this article are taken from the first genealogical studies of texts and the creative process in Latin American countries, made possible by the creation of the Archives Collection (see article page 18).

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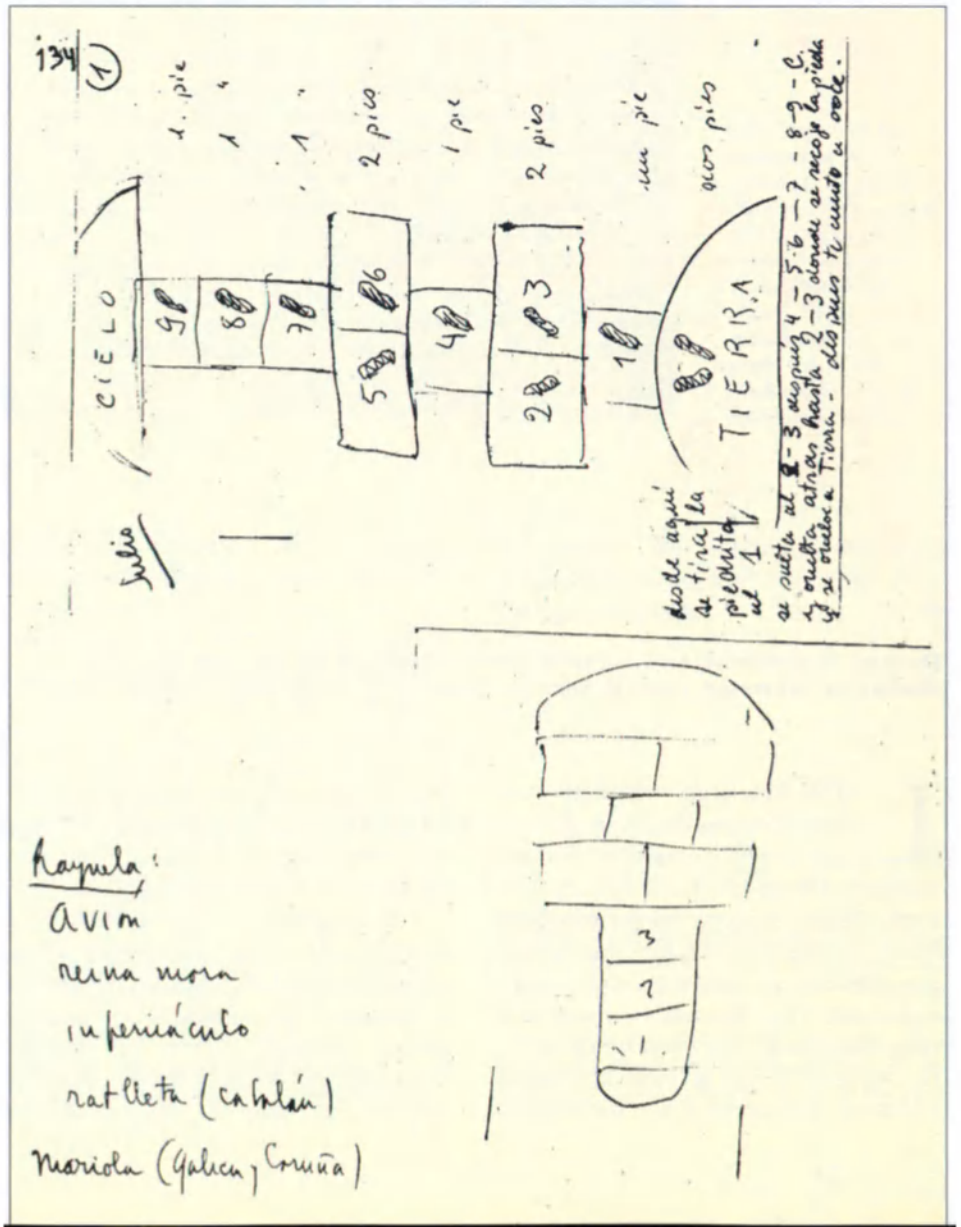


The children's game of hopscotch (Spanish *Rayuela*) inspired the structure of Argentine writer Julio Cortázar's eponymous novel as well as providing its title. Sketches of the game, two of which are reproduced here, are scattered throughout *El cuaderno de bitácora de Rayuela*, the notebook he kept while writing the novel.

THE BIRTH OF A LANGUAGE

The many occupations an Aztec boy could choose are shown in this page from the "Codex Mendoza", a 16th-century record of Aztec life. At top centre, a father describes them to his son.

LATIN American writers have developed a complex about the language in which they write because they have always felt that it was not their own. Many writers of metropolitan Spain, especially purists, have encouraged this feeling by assuming proprietary rights over the Spanish language and relegating Latin American literature to the status of a mere offshoot of Spanish literature. This attitude was summed up by the Spanish essayist and novelist Azorín (1874-1967), who frankly declared at the beginning of the century that "we are the souls of the language".

Philologists and linguists have tried to explain this phenomenon which simultaneously united and separated writers on each side of the Atlantic. There is a linguistic "system" which for obvious historical and political reasons is called Castilian or Spanish. This system has variants within Spain and, with much greater justification, in Latin America. The substrata of Amerindian languages, the influence, in regions such as the Caribbean, of African languages and of contributions by immigrants, as well as the language of creative writers, have profoundly marked the phonetic modulations, word-structures, syntax and vocabulary of Latin American Spanish. They have strongly influenced and impregnated this language which has been used for centuries, but they have not destroyed the unity of the system. It is the same Spanish language, variegated and enriched—why not?—by contributions which reflect the cultural and historical context of Latin America.

This situation is the result of a long, hard struggle, often waged in obscurity, to achieve and assert a cultural identity. The struggle finally bore fruit in the twentieth century. The theory of the Spanish linguistic system and its variants is the expression of a linguistic situation that clearly appeared at a specific moment in the history of Latin American literature—the moment when Latin American writers lost their inferiority complex vis-à-vis their Iberian colleagues and dared to assume *their* language. This turning point marked the emergence of a literature, initially poetic but later predominantly narrative, which asserted the continent's cultural identity through works of exceptional quality which testified to an original presence on the contemporary literary scene.

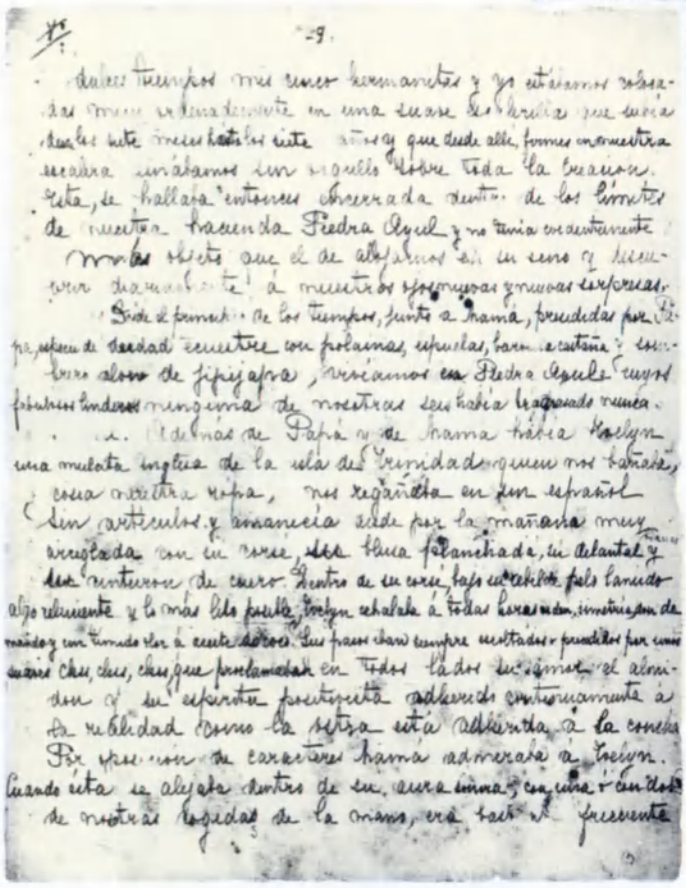
Language is not the only determining factor in the flowering of Latin American literature in recent decades. But in my opinion it is a decisive factor, if not the principal one, because the full assumption of one's own language shapes the balance of expression and the practice, without complexes or culpability, of letters.

The Archives Collection (see article page 18) is revealing this decisive stage in the evolution of twentieth-century Latin American literature, through its mission to represent the entire continent, and through its methodology which encourages the study of the original text and its variants. "Readings" by specialists representing a variety of trends in contemporary literary criticism highlight different aspects of each work. A multidisciplinary approach is used in the

preparation of critical editions in which the study of details is combined with an analysis of the wider significance of the work in question.

Since the Archives Collection comprises works produced since the beginning of the century, it enables the reader to follow the development of Latin American writing from its last stage of insecurity to its affirmation as a literature which has discovered its mode of expression. Since all Latin American countries are represented, the reader has a complete, comparative view of the variants which exist within the linguistic system outlined above. The Collection also illustrates a basic fact about the linguistic situation in Latin America. What, by reference to a narrow, repressive critical tradition, was once regarded as a form of inadequacy, a blameworthy fault, a vice that contaminated the "purity" of the Castilian tongue, is actually a source of enrichment to a changing language. Few languages, in fact, are nourished from so many sources as Spanish. This fact is now accepted by the writers and even by the academics of Spain, and is helping the members of both communities to understand each other more fully and to feel that they belong to the same cultural community.

The Archives Collection is contributing to the search for, or rather to the affirmation of, the Latin American identity. One area unexplored in this search, although it concerns the roots of Latin American identity, is that of the Amerindian literatures. At the first plenary session of ALLCA, the Latin American, Caribbean and African 20th-century Literary Archives Association, a proposal was approved for the publication of texts from this deep-rooted, predominantly oral form of expression before it disappears. Implementation of this proposal will make it possible to preserve or rescue texts which are notable not only for their beauty but because they contain essential clues to the understanding of the founding cultures of Latin America. These texts are as inexhaustible as the soil in which they have been buried, but they are also as fleeting as the murmur of a voice, a trace of the collective memory of a people. Their publication will bring a magnificent cultural enterprise to a fitting conclusion. ■



Left, page 9 of the manuscript of *Memorias de Mamá Blanca* (1929), a novel by the Venezuelan writer Teresa de la Parra (1895-1936), above. The manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Venezuela, Caracas.

Two Inca women kneel before the Spanish conquistadors Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro. This is one of many illustrations from a two-part work entitled *Nueva crónica* (1600) and *Buen gobierno* (1615) by the Peruvian historian Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (1534-1615).

RUBEN BAREIRO SAGUIER is a Paraguayan writer and a specialist in the Guarani culture and language. He is a researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and a member of the international scientific committee of the Archives Collection. Among his publications are linguistic studies and collections of poetry and short stories.

Fountain in the Plaza Real, Barcelona

A THOUSAND YEARS OF CATALAN HISTORY

BY FRANCESC VALLVERDÚ

TEN centuries ago, the Count of Barcelona severed the ties of feudal loyalty that bound him to his liege lord, the King of France. From then on, a territorial, social and political entity centred on the ancestral house of Barcelona grew in strength and, from the thirteenth century onwards, was known as Catalonia.

As a marchland and the outpost of Carolingian Europe in Muslim Spain during the High Middle Ages, and the driving force behind Catalan and Aragonese expansion between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, Catalonia has a historical continuity of which even many Spaniards are unaware. Hence, the commemoration of its "birth" a thousand years ago is more than a strictly political event.

Catalonia is a small territory of some 32,000 square kilometres which is situated in the north-eastern corner of the Iberian peninsula and forms part of the kingdom of Spain. However, historical Catalonia included part of southern France, and even today some people think of Catalonia as encompassing the Catalan-speaking regions of Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Andorra, and the French Département of Pyrénées

Orientales. But let us leave polemics aside. The region referred to in this article is the autonomous community of the "Generalitat de Catalunya", whose capital is Barcelona.

In geographical terms, present-day Catalonia is a triangular-shaped region bounded in the north by the mountain chain of the Pyrenees, in the east and south by the Mediterranean, and in the west by the provinces of Aragon and Valencia, which are irrigated by the River Ebro. There is a wide variety of climate and relief. In the north are the Pyrenees, whose limestone spurs extend southwards. The transversal north-eastern cordillera and the Mediterranean coastal ranges make a contrast with the Ebro basin and the coastal plains. Although the climate is predominantly Mediterranean, the high mountain areas are Alpine in character.

From barely two million in 1900, Catalonia's population has risen to six million today. The increase is primarily due to immigration, which has compensated for the low birth rate of the Catalan population.

Catalonia is one of Europe's most economically dynamic regions. It occupies a pre-eminent position in the Spanish economy, along with Madrid and the Basque region. The industrial sector is particularly strong and is concentrated on textiles, paper and the graphic arts, chemicals and metallurgy, and tourism.

A dynasty that ruled for 5 centuries

Some 3,000 years ago the region was settled by Iberian tribes with which the Phoenicians and Greeks established trade relations, and in the third century BC it became part of the Roman province of Hispania. As elsewhere in Spain, Roman civilization left an indelible mark on the language, culture and law of Catalonia, which even inherited its agricultural and fishing techniques from Rome.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Hispania was invaded by Germanic tribes and later by the Moors. In the eighth century AD, Charlemagne set up a number of vassal earldoms in the eastern Pyrenean region of France as marchlands facing Muslim Spain. When the Count of Barcelona became independent of the French kings in the tenth century, he established a dynasty that would govern Catalonia for the next five centuries. In the twelfth century, the Count of Barcelona became, through marriage, the king of Aragon. From then onwards, the Catalan-Aragonese confederation, also known as the Crown of Aragon, expanded into the eastern part of the Iberian peninsula. It conquered Valencia, the Balearic Islands and later Sardinia, Naples and Sicily, and eventually reached Greece and North Africa. This was a splendid period of Catalan culture. Among its artistic and intellectual highlights were its Romanesque (see page 29) and later Gothic, art and architecture and in literature the work of the thirteenth-century philosopher and mystic Ramon Llull and the fifteenth-century poet Ausiàs March.

Crisis and loss of independence

In the fifteenth century, Catalan society experienced a demographic crisis owing to the great plague, and an economic and political crisis when the dynasty of the House of Barcelona came to an end. The Crown of Aragon passed to rulers of Castilian origin. During the reign of the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella at the end of the fifteenth century, the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united, although each maintained its political autonomy. This *de facto* confederacy lasted until the eighteenth century when Philip V, victor of the War of the Spanish Succession and the first Bourbon king of Spain, conquered the former territories of the Crown of Aragon and annexed them to the Court of Castile.

Mending fishing nets, Barcelona harbour

The philosopher, mystic and poet Ramon Llull (c. 1233-1316), one of the founders of Catalan literature. Often referred to as the "Visionary Doctor", Llull devoted his life to meditation and missionary work. This 18th-century portrait, an engraving by the Italian artist Domenico Rossetti, is based on an earlier painting by Jan-Frans van Douven.

In 1714, Catalonia lost its political independence and self-governing institutions, and the Catalan language was banned from education and public administration. At the same time, the region began to recover from the economic decline into which it had fallen between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The contrast between economic expansion, based on advances in agriculture and industry, and a lack of political decision-making powers was the fundamental reason for the Catalonia's instability during the nineteenth century and one of the decisive causes of the political crisis in Spain.

The recovery of autonomy

Although, with the proclamation of the Catalan Republic in 1931, it seemed that the crisis in the Spanish state could be resolved by democratic means, while respecting the autonomy of Catalonia, that illusion was soon dashed by the terrible Civil War which lasted from 1936 to 1939. After General Franco's victory, Spain was subjected to a fascist-inspired dictatorship which, for Catalonia and the Basque region, entailed the loss of their national liberties and their governing institutions.

The situation began to change again with the restoration of democracy in 1975. Two years later Catalonia recovered its traditional self-governing institution, the Generalitat, and since 1979 it has enjoyed self-governing status as an autonomous community within the Kingdom of Spain.

Over a period of ten centuries, then, Catalonia has developed into a viable national community and a strong-willed people which has asserted itself through the vicissitudes of its history.

A cultural boom

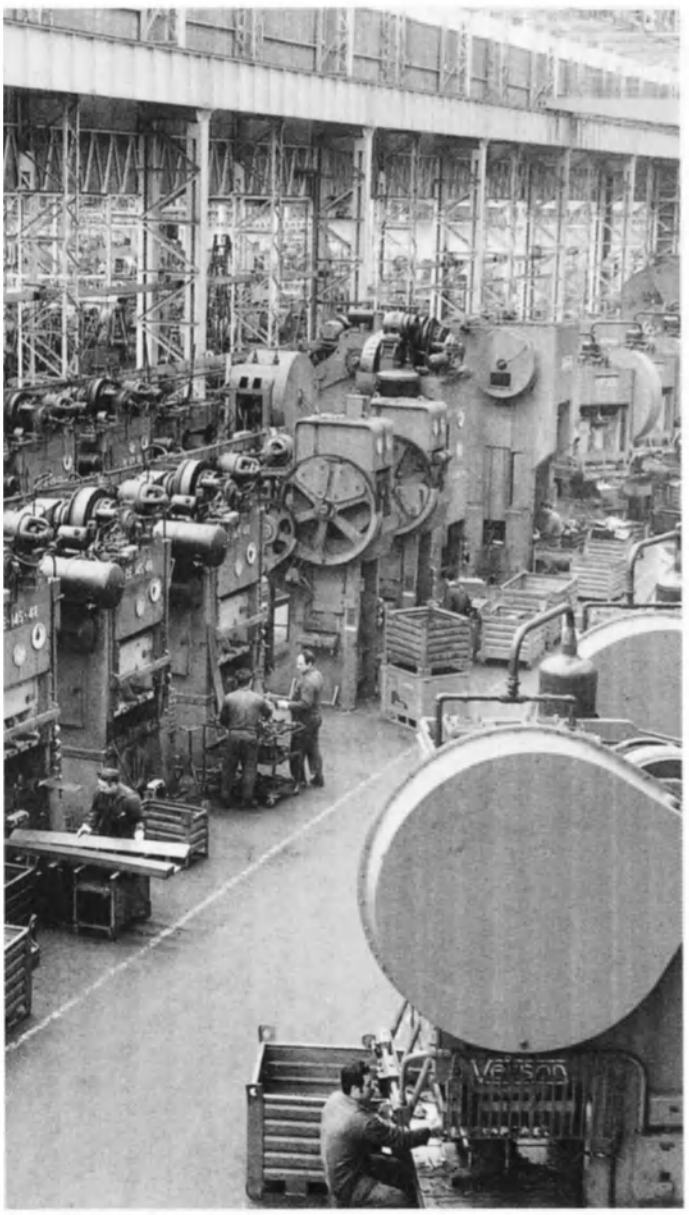
Today Catalonia can celebrate the thousandth anniversary of its political independence with serenity and optimism. Although only twelve years have passed since 1977, it is worth recalling that Catalonia has not enjoyed such a long period of political autonomy and democracy for three centuries. The Catalan language has recovered its status as an official language alongside Castilian Spanish, it is taught in all educational establishments and it is increasingly heard on radio and television. There is a boom in Catalan literature not only within the region, where over 4,500 books a year in Catalan are published, but elsewhere, owing to the translation into Spanish, English, French and other languages of the works of our great medieval and classical writers such as Ramon Llull, Bernat Metge, Ausias March, Joanot Martorell, as well as those of contemporary authors like Josep Carner, Salvador Espriu, J.V. Foix, Mercè Rodoreda and Joan Perucho.

Catalan art, which in this century has produced such world-famous figures as the architect Gaudí, the musician Pau (Pablo) Casals, and the painters Joan Miró, Salvador Dalí and Antoni Tàpiès, has brought extraordinary stature to our culture, which will surely be appreciated by the visitors who will attend the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992.

Certainly there are problems which cast a shadow over some aspects of this positive report, but perhaps their very existence is a sign of the vitality of Catalonia and its ability to take up the challenges of the next thousand years. ■

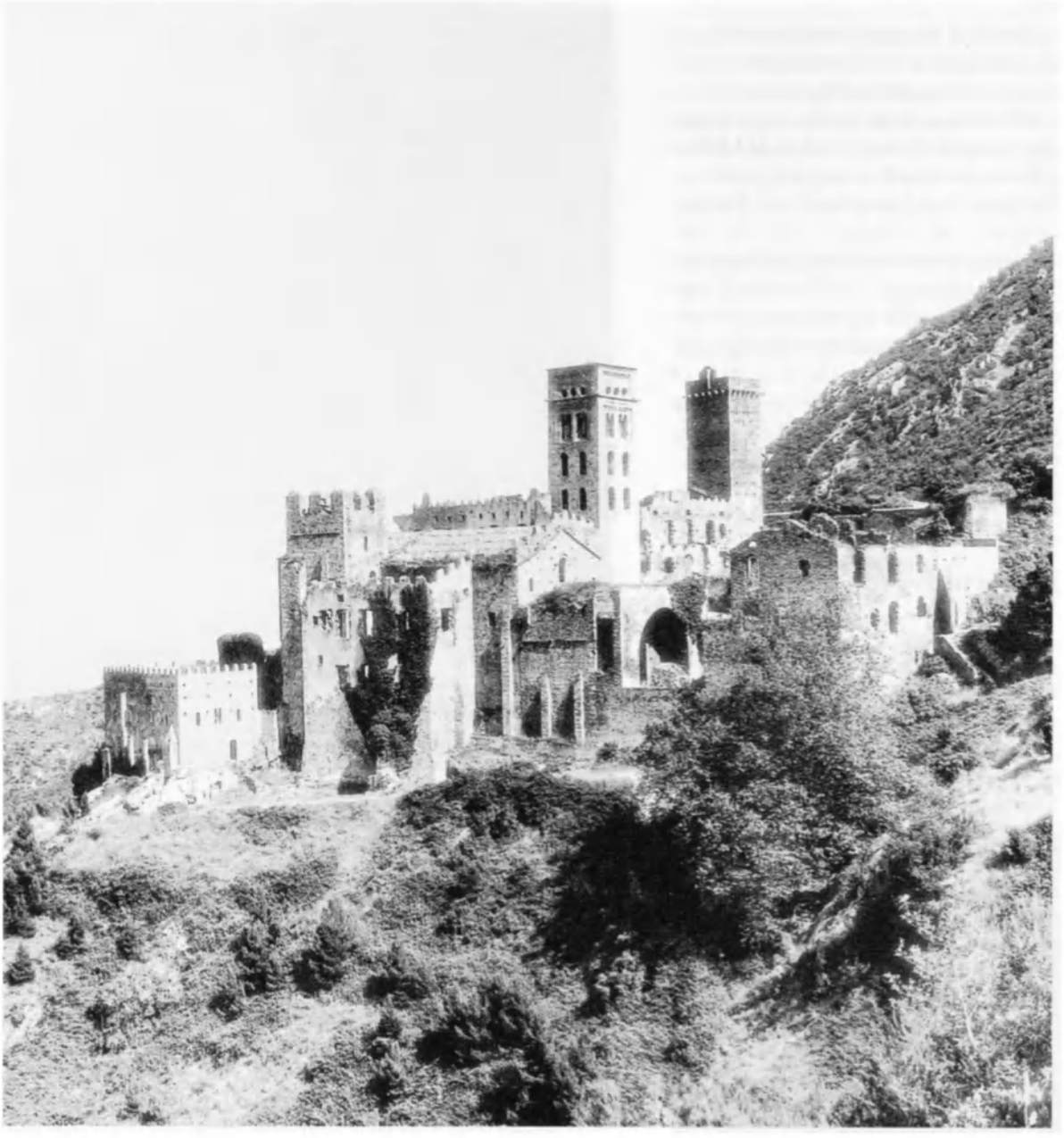
FRANCESC VALLVERDU, Catalan writer and educator, is the founder of the Catalan Sociolinguistic Group and editor-in-chief of the review *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana.*

Car manufacturing plant, Barcelona



ROMANESQUE TREASURES OF CATALONIA

BY EDUARD CARBONELL I ESTELLER



An outstanding example of Catalan Romanesque architecture, the 11th-century monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes is located in a mountainous setting near Gerona.

ARTISTIC styles tend to be strongly associated with the countries where they originated (as in the case of Renaissance art in Italy or the Gothic style of northern France) or with the countries where their most important works were produced (such as Baroque painting in Spain).

But styles are also associated with certain countries for other reasons. Thus the Romanesque style is associated with Catalonia although, judged in terms of the numbers of high quality works found there, Gothic would seem to be a more representative Catalan style. Furthermore, many works of architecture, sculpture and painting from the Romanesque period in Catalonia are largely inspired by foreign models from southern France and, especially, from northern Italy.

Catalonia's association with Romanesque art stems from the fact that the country's historical origins and the affirmation of its nationhood date from the tenth and eleventh centuries. There are two factors in the art of this period which, I believe, explain this sense of beginning and affirmation. These are an early form of Romanesque based on the indigenous forms of a previous tradition, and an internationalist ambition.

The pre-Romanesque tradition

Apart from the main trends in Romanesque architecture represented by the Lombard style of northern Italy, remarkable buildings were being constructed in Catalonia in the early decades of the eleventh century which continued an earlier style.

A major monument such as the monastery church of Sant Pere de Rodes at Gerona, consecrated in 1022, represents a continuation of the great international architecture of the previous century, the most typical example of which is the church of Sant Miquel at Cuxa, on the northern slope of the Pyrenees, which was associated with the Benedictine abbey of Cluny in Burgundy, France.

Sant Pere de Rodes church is notable for the presence of classical architectural features, such as the superposed order of the columns and the monumental quality of the construction. This continuation of pre-Romanesque art is also represented by two outstanding early eleventh-century illuminated bibles from the monasteries at Rodes and Ripoll, which are preserved, respectively, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Vatican Library, Rome.

Meanwhile, the architectural trend from Lombardy reached Catalonia and became widely influential. The Lombard type of construction dominates the architectural landscape of the early Romanesque period in Catalonia with such remarkable buildings as the church of Sant Pere de Casserres, the monastery of Santa María at Ripoll, and the building which is to my mind the paradigm of this style, the collegiate church of Sant Vicenç at Cardona (Barcelona).

Inspiration from Italy and France

The international character of Romanesque art is another feature which associates it with Catalonia, whose outward-looking spirit during the Romanesque period was an expression of political and religious assertiveness. This is reflected in the importance of religious centres such as Ripoll and Cuxa

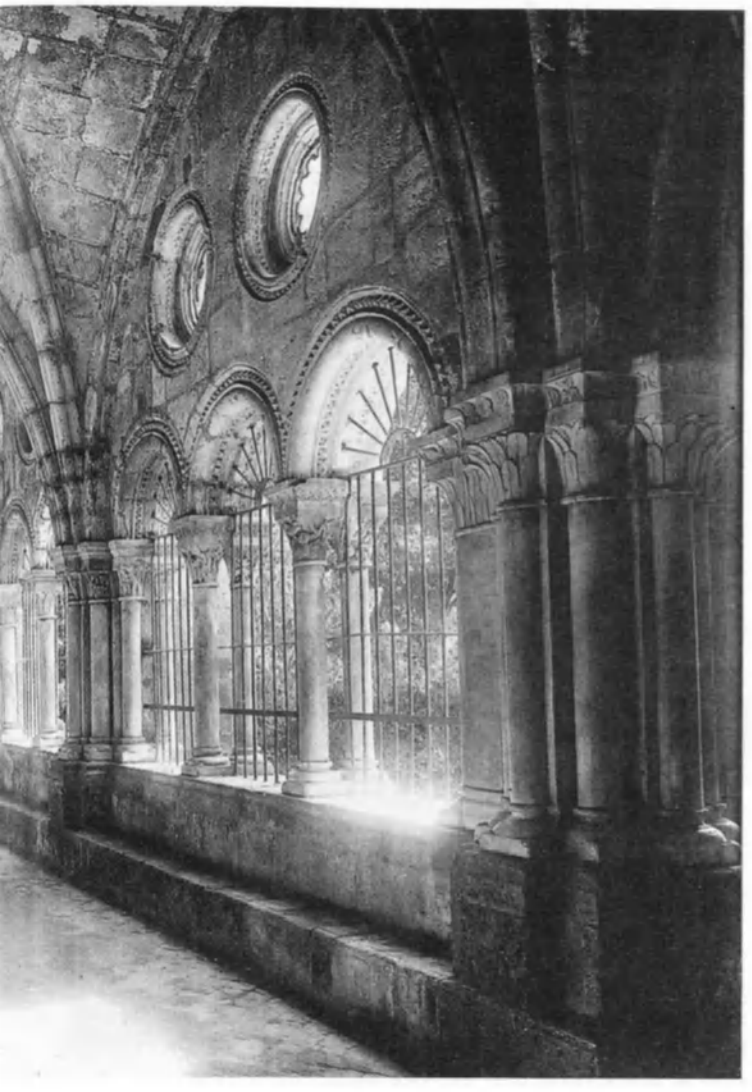
Left, Romanesque frescos in the apse of the church of Sant Climent de Tahull, Lérida. The central figure of Christ Pantocrator (All Powerful) rests His feet on the world. On either side of His head are inscribed the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, alpha and omega, symbolizing the beginning and end of Creation. These paintings, executed in 1123, rank among the finest examples of Catalan Romanesque art.

and the cathedrals of Vich, Gerona and Barcelona. These were cultural centres of European importance frequented by people like Pietro Orseolo (991-1008), Duke of Venice, and the monk Gerbert of Aurillac (c. 945-1003), who became Pope Sylvester II.

Catalan Romanesque sculpture and the best Catalan Romanesque painting also reveal foreign influences. The chief examples reflect Italian and French styles but sometimes there is also a short-lived Islamic influence.

The splendid series of paintings in the church of Sant Quirze de Pedret, and the wall paintings from the churches of Santa María and Sant Climent de Tahull, were undoubtedly the work of artists who followed the great Italian school of mural painting. In sculpture, the influence of the workshops of Roussillon, southern France, and later of those of Languedoc, especially the great centre of Toulouse, is manifest in the capitals of columns at Vich cathedral and in the imposing portal of Santa María monastery at Ripoll.

International influences are also evident towards the end of the twelfth century, in the cloister of Tarragona cathedral which is possibly the work of artists from the last Toulouse workshops. Like the Daurade in Toulouse or Master Antelami's work in Parma, northern Italy, the Tarragona sculpture represents the swan song of Romanesque art, which was to give way to Early Gothic from northern France.



Catalan Romanesque art produced many works of outstanding beauty. Apart from those already mentioned, typical examples include the cathedral of Seu d'Urgell at Lérida, completed in 1175 by Raimundus Lambardus according to Italian models, the collegiate church of Sant Joan de les Abadesses at Gerona, consecrated in 1150, and the magnificent cloisters, rich in sculpture, in Gerona cathedral, the church of Sant Pere de Galligant, also at Gerona, and the Benedictine abbey of Sant Cugat del Vallés near Barcelona.

This late style can also be observed in painting, especially panel painting, but in this case with a Byzantine influence from southern Italy which reached the studios of Roussillon painters.

Church iconography and the decorative arts

After such early works as those of Sant Joan de Boi, which recall the Carolingian style, a high point was reached around 1100 with the paintings at Sant Quirze de Pedret and, a little later, with the Tahull ensemble which dates from 1123 and is executed in a more geometrical style. The link with stylistic trends from the other side of the Pyrenees is evident in such works as the apse paintings from Santa María de Mur (now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA) and in the paintings preserved in the church of Santa María de Barberá.

Catalan panel painting of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century is in some respects comparable only to that of Italy in the rich decoration it provided for liturgical furniture, altar frontals, canopies and apse beams.

Also outstanding are the great carved wooden figures such as that of Christ in Majesty, rendered with great intensity, leaning on the cross, attired in noble garments; the Mother of God on the *sedes sapientiae;* and sculptured groups including those representing the Descent from the Cross.

The most important centres for the production of illuminated manuscripts were at Vich and Ripoll and, later, in the cathedral of Tortosa, at Tarragona, and in Barcelona cathedral.

A high degree of excellence was also achieved in crafts, especially textiles (in such works as the eleventh-century tapestry of the Creation in Gerona cathedral), and the Limoges-inspired art of enamel-making, most of whose products are preserved in the two richest museums of Catalan Romanesque art, the Museum of Catalan Art in Barcelona and the Episcopal Museum at Vich. ■

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The late 12th-century cloister of Tarragona cathedral may have been built by stone-masons from Toulouse in southern France.

Sculpted figure of Christ in Majesty adorns the tympanum of a mid-12th-century doorway in the monastery church of Santa María at Ripoll, Catalonia.

GAUDÍ AND DALÍ,

Far left, in 1953 Salvador Dalí examines a sheet of paper being made by hand for an edition of the Book of Revelation to which he contributed an illustration. Left, *Capricorn,* lithograph by Dalí from a series on the signs of the zodiac. Right, *Osificación matinal del cipres,* a painting executed by Dalí in 1934.

THE architecture of Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926) and the painting of Salvador Dalí (1904-1989) have a distinctive aesthetic power which raises many questions for those who seek to understand the innermost meaning of their work.

Both artists have been described as geniuses, as creators afflicted by madness, men whose minds were caught in the hallucinations created by certain forms arising from the subconscious. Admired and contested by their contemporaries, they mocked the cultural tenets of their time and succeeded, with bravado and originality, in creating an extraordinary world of novel ideas which are now internationally acknowledged as high points in the annals of art.

Both Gaudí and Dalí were natives of Catalonia, a region which prides itself on dividing its people into two categories: those who are balanced, serious-minded and well-behaved; and those who are consumed by a kind of rage, who are impulsive, quick-tempered and wilful.

In their own region, Gaudí and Dalí are generally thought of as belonging to the impulsive category, most probably because, at some point in time, with the clearsightedness born of good judgement, they opted for the freedom of the spirit and the creative imagination.

It is not surprising that Catalonia's main cultural attractions and international tourist draws should be the architecture of Gaudí in Barcelona and the Dalí Theatre-Museum in Figueras.

Each artist in his own way epitomizes the essential character of the region, and interprets its landscape, the forces of nature at work there and its traditional mythology.

Gaudí and the architecture of the fantastic

Antoni Gaudí was born into a family of craftsmen, from whom he learned the secrets of the traditional trades and familiarized himself with the techniques they used. He studied architecture in Barcelona, where he was awarded his diploma in 1878, at a time when, in the wake of a cultural and political revival, "modernismo" was starting to emerge in Spain as a movement in architecture and the decorative arts contemporary with Art Nouveau which spread throughout Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Although he was rejected by the public opinion of his time, he enjoyed the support of a prosperous and enterprising middle class, which sought its identity in the extravagant buildings he designed.

The secret of Gaudí's art is that he succeeded in grasping the patterns present in nature and the organic world and was capable of selecting from their infinite variety of shapes those that could be transposed into architecture. He pursued this course with great imagination: tree-trunks, branches, bones, ribs, fishing nets and flowers all became ideas for designs which he used in churches, parks, schools and other buildings.

All his work was based on logic and reasoning and was thought out down to the smallest detail. Underlying the exuberant fantasy of the shapes he used, there was always a rational calculation and a far-reaching study of the loads and forces involved and of the function of all the structural elements

THE ART OF EXCESS

BY DANIEL GIRALT-MIRACLE

which he brought into play. He applied this method of working as much to the large columns supporting a façade as to the tiniest ornamental details reproduced in ceramic tiles, glass, wood or wrought iron. Essentially, he was seeking to achieve a work of total art, in which the parts and the whole were in harmony and conferred on the architecture a new and different personality, full of aesthetic meaning.

Dalí on a tightrope between the real and the imaginary

Salvador Dalí is a very similar case to Gaudí. He drew his inspiration from the wild and secluded Costa Brava, with its steep and rocky shoreline, and from the enigmatic landscapes of the Ampurdan region constantly buffeted by the Tramontane, the northerly wind coming off the mountains.

After studying art in Madrid, where he was a contemporary of Luis Buñuel, García Lorca, Rafael Alberti and other figures of the Spanish avant-garde of the 1930s, he exhibited his work in Barcelona, where his paintings and eccentricities made him a celebrity. In 1928 he moved to Paris, where the Surrealist group of artists and writers were so taken aback by his work that the French poet André Breton declared that Dalí embod-

Below, fountain in the Güell Park, Barcelona, designed by the Catalan sculptor and architect Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926).

ied the Surrealist spirit: "the poetic and visionary images of his paintings possess an extraordinary intensity and explosive force."*

He invented an imaginary world. An authentic landscape of the mind came to the surface through his depictions of "soft" watches, boundless perspectives stretching into infinity, elongated staffs, human limbs exaggerated out of all proportion, giraffes bursting into flames, gold coins and other forms that made him a fitting exemplar of the "paranoiac critical" theory embraced so enthusiastically by Freud and the painters and poets of the time, whereby images were brought up from the subconscious mind.

Dalí often claimed that his entire work was a projection of his inner world, the representation of his subconscious, and the obsessions and fantasies of an artist who turned his hand with equal energy to painting, sculpture, literature, drama, stage design, jewellery, film-making, the design of artefacts and public "happenings".

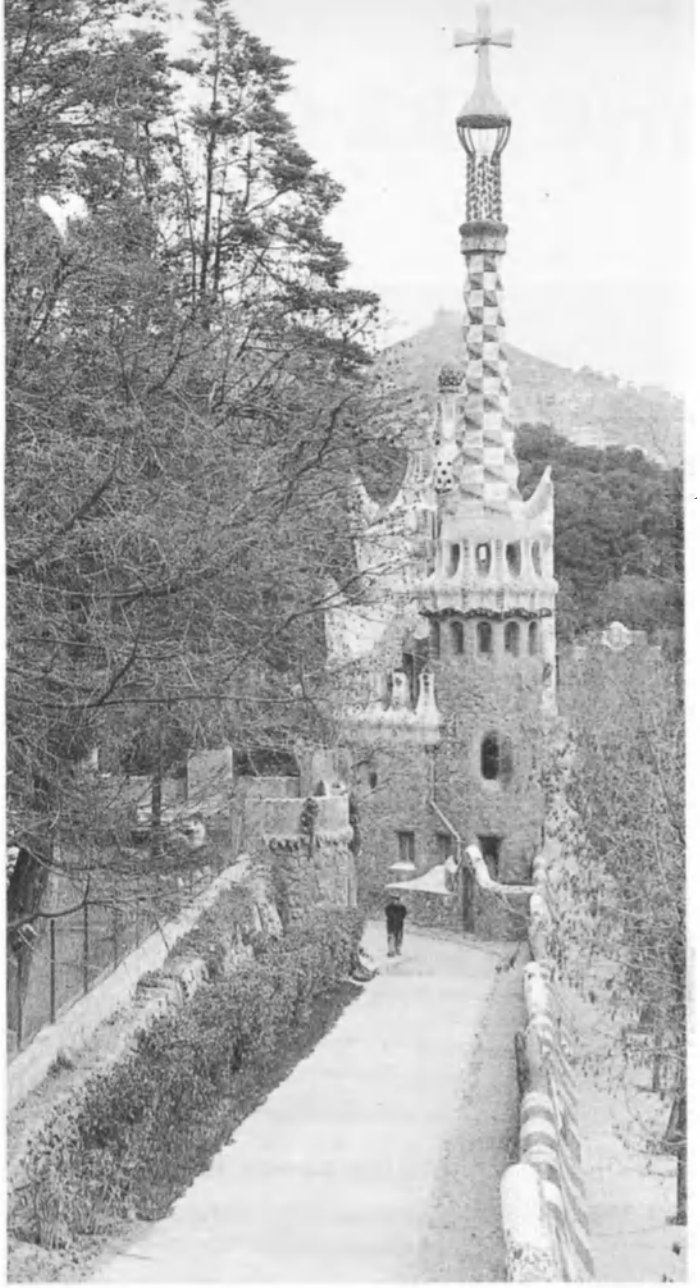
The Dalí Theatre-Museum in Figueras, which was founded in 1974, epitomizes the world of fantasy, theatrical effect and over-brimming imagination inhabited by Salvador Dalí, a figure who was a source of interest to poets and artists, film-makers and scientists, philosophers and politicians, children and adults alike.

Curiously enough, Gaudí and Dalí are two typically Catalan figures, each of whose names, in both origin and meaning, define the form taken by their lives: "gaudí" (*gaudir*) means to "enjoy" delving into interesting questions, while "dalí" (*delir*) signifies "being impelled by an overwhelming urge".

Such is the intense and passionate force of these artists who, drawing inspiration from their native soil and driven forward by their genius, became universal figures speaking through art, the most universal of all languages. ■

* André Breton, *Entretiens 1913-1952*, Gallimard, Paris, 1952

DANIEL GIRALT-MIRACLE, Catalan art critic and writer, is a former lecturer at the University of Barcelona and the Autonomous University of Barcelona. He is currently vice-president of the International Association of Art Critics and Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona.



Views of the Güell Park, Barcelona

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